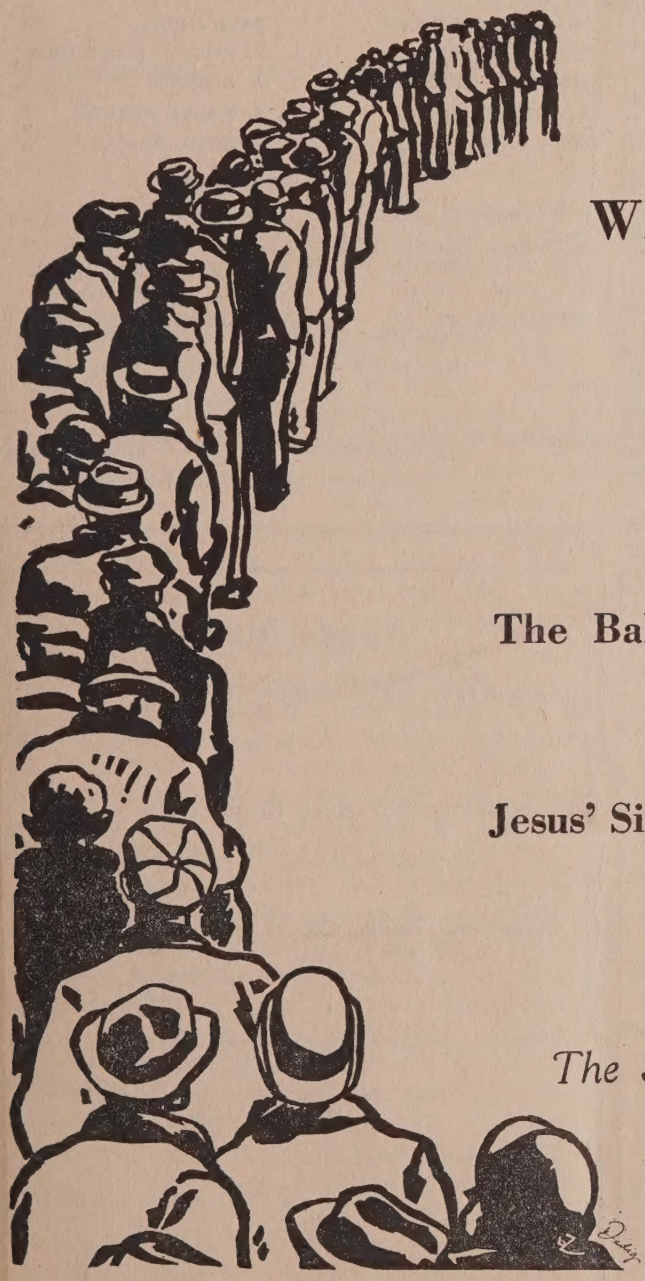
The World Tomorrow

JANUARY, 1931



WHY BREADLINES?

An Editorial

Militant Pacifism

ALBERT EINSTEIN

The Balance Sheet of British Labor

DEVERE ALLEN

Jesus' Significance in Our Modern Age

HARRY F. WARD

Prophet of Israel

The Story of Judah L Magnes

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

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Who's Who in This Issue

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Appearing Soon

Democracy and Economic Planning
Patrick M. Malin

Unsnarling Our Race Prejudices
Reginald Bell

Minnesota Points the Way
Howard Y. Williams

The Suppressed "Sensational Story"
William Pickens

Education in Action:
The Story of John Dewey

Pax Britannica
Reginald A. Reynolds

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV January, 1931 No. 1

Editorials

Why Breadlines in Rich America?

After fifteen months of business depression and increasing unemployment, the end of which is not in sight, leaders of American public opinion admit that the problem exists. They did nothing to foresee it or prepare for it; for months they consistently tried to ignore it, minimize it, or charm it away with optimistic statements.

But now in characteristic style a charity program is under way. The rich give and force their employees, under thinly veiled compulsion, to give to various funds for creating jobs and providing outright relief. Apple peddlers recruited from the unemployed hosts line city sidewalks to persuade us that "one—or several apples—a day will send unemployment away." In short, with its usual mixture of kindness and vulgar callousness, efficiency and ballyhoo, American charity is on the job. A people trained to spurn the "dole" of unemployment insurance almost boastfully proclaims its breadlines and soup kitchens as the "American method" of dealing with unemployment.

The bitter truth is that we have so neglected the basic elements of a program to alleviate unemployment that we have no immediate choice but bread lines and outright relief derived mainly from private charity. However one may loathe the effect of charity upon him who gives and him who receives, when it is a belated substitute for justice charity is better than starvation, and our task is to make it as decently human as we can. One thing we should insist upon: that the inadequate funds of municipalities be supplemented as a matter of plain justice by an outright federal appropriation for relief. It is too late to set up unemployment insurance in time for this crisis. It is only elemental fair play that out of increased taxes on the incomes of those whose dividends have been pretty well guaranteed by the surplus funds of corporations, provision should be made for the last of those "rugged individuals" (now pretty ragged) whom Herbert Hoover hymned—the unemployed whose wages corporations do not guarantee out of surplus.

A second thing on which we must insist is that neither governmental nor private agencies in giving emergency jobs to the unemployed shall beat down our already too low standard of living and wages by forcing a charity wage upon unemployed to whom any wage is better than nothing. If out of this crisis we get a still lower consuming power in the hands of the masses, we shall invite a quicker return of the crisis of underconsumption.

Outside of relief we must urge upon Congress and state legislatures definite action on a program for dealing with unemployment which to our great shame we have so long delayed. That program, as THE WORLD TOMORROW has pointed out, includes (1) accurate determination of the number of the unemployed; (2) an integrated system of free public employment agencies, federal, state and local; (3) a plan for simple re-education of workers, more or less permanently superfluous in one line, for other work; (4) the end of child labor while adults walk the streets; (5) a far more extensive program of public works than has yet been presented; (6) the shortening of the working week, *without a corresponding speeding up of machinery,* in order to relieve technological unemployment, and a control of the rate of introduction of machinery with reference to the rate of absorption of labor in other fields; and (7) unemployment insurance for which we do not need to put our heads together to prove its necessity but to devise the best form of it.

It will be a man-sized job for each of us if this result is to be accomplished. Yet of itself it will not cure unemployment. We are more likely to do the immediate task if we look farther and deeper. Why this economic depression, this poverty, this tragic army of the unemployed? Only a little while ago we were assured that American capitalism had found the fountains of everlasting prosperity, the secret of making everybody rich. In this new country with its rich resources the captains of industry had their way almost undisturbed by agitators and innovators. And behold where they have led us! First an unsound gambling stock market, prosperity, then a crash of which the gambling mania was partly a cause and partly a symptom, and we share the world's depression.

That depression would have been inconceivable to the Middle Ages. An agricultural and handcraft civilization has its bitter poverty due to scarcity. It does not have unemployment as a general phenomenon. We have poverty in the midst of plenty and unemployment, we are told, as a result of overproduction! Farmers are poor because they have raised too much food, children of cotton growers and textile workers go in rags because their fathers have produced too much cotton and cloth!

Of course the answer is that while our chaotic, unplanned profit system may give us overproduction in certain things, in sum total in a hungry, ill-clad, ill-housed world we have underconsumption. And that results directly from the profit system of operating private property for power. The workers do not get back in social and personal income the equivalent of what collectively they produce. Receivers of rent and profit sluice off the waters of the life-giving stream. To be sure they usually re-invest most of what they take and so provide work but only after wastes of luxury and delay, and always without adequate social plan. Hence inevitable periodic crises. Hence, too, that fierce competition for foreign markets which is one root of war.

The same profit system also gives us technological unemployment. The employer introduces new machinery to increase profits which usually means cutting his payroll. In the long run all machinery increases the things we can have and decreases the toil of making them. But in the short run—and men eat in short runs—it throws workers on the scrap heap, discards the middle-aged for the young, and, under management for profit, writes the history of its profits in human tears and blood. Again the only answer is planned production for use and not for profit. If our country begins to learn this lesson and act upon it, some compensation will come from the tragic weight of this winter's woe.

A Professor of Work

In these days of unemployment it is commonly assumed that a full complement of jobs is all that is necessary; produce those and the problem is solved. But there is another side to the question, at least with young people, as Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio, has found out.

As the college is organized, the students alternate five or ten weeks of study with similar periods of work, going to offices, stores, factories, industrial plants, laboratories, schools, etc., in neighboring cities. In the carrying out of this coöperative plan it has become evident that many of the new students, although of more than average intellectual capacity, simply do not know how to work when they enter college. The result has been the addition to the faculty this year of a "professor of work," whose job it is to teach students through the practical experience of caring for buildings, grounds, and adjacent glen, how to put through a careful, efficient piece of work.

Since the industrial experience of the Antioch students is considered a vital part of their college education and is organized under what is known as the Extramural School, the new professor of work may be considered as the director of the training department of that school. This new departure will doubtless save much embarrassment to the personnel staff which places the students in jobs, to the students, and to the various employers. It might not be a bad idea for cities or states to follow the same method with the general unemployed group, using the present time to equip some of them for better jobs than they have yet held, so that when real jobs open up they will be able to fill them.

The German Political Situation

The German situation after the reassembly of parliament is less desperate than might have been expected and not at all as hopeful as many of the optimistic press reports which speak of the "striking victories of the Bruening government by margins of forty votes." The reported margin is numerically correct, but the dispatches fail to state that it is secured by the combination of the socialists and the middle-class parties, and that the socialists are supporting the government only because they fear a new fascist victory if they do not. The government has quieted labor to a degree by promising that it will effect price reductions commensurate with the wage reductions which it is encouraging. So far, its effort to reduce the prices of commodities has resulted in only a very modest success. How bitter the opposition to its program among retailers is may be seen from the fact that the economic party, composed of small traders, has withdrawn support from the government and has asked its representatives to quit the cabinet. The semi-dictatorship by presidential decree has worked so far and it may see the government through the winter. But if there is not a marked decrease in commodity prices, the socialists will lose their prestige among German laborers in favor of the communists. The latter accuse the socialists of giving too much support to policies which are designed to make the laborer carry the whole burden of reparations.

Without a new deal in reparations no parliamentary government can finally hold itself in Germany. The moratorium of which the Bruening government speaks may, if granted, ease the pressure for the next months. But the eighteen million Germans who cast their votes against the present policies in the la election are not likely to be conciliated permaner—

The American Plan

NEEDY GET 450 TONS OF FOOD FROM CITY
The Dole System In New York
Idle Get Doles at Two Stations
Chairman Legge Opposes Use of Grain for Relief
JOBLESS GIVE THANKS TODAY FOR FREE FOOD
20,000 Cartons Distributed by Police of City's 5 Boroughs; Many to Get Holiday Dinners
NEW FOOD DOLE GOES TO 20,000
Police Begin Distribution of Week's Supply—Census of Unemployed Still Mounts.
HOOVER MAY VETO HUGE RELIEF SUM
Tilson Sees Dole in Food Loans
FOOD DOLED OUT AT 2 STATIONS, OTHERS EMPTY
City's First Bread Line Hampered by Lack of Transportation and Packages.
POLICE LABOR ALL NIGHT
Vans Ordered to Carry Supplies Turn Out To Be Scoop and Garbage Wagons.
1,500,000 POUNDS OF FOOD DOLED TO CITY JOBLESS
Needy Swarm to Police Relief Stations to Carry Away Provisions and Clothes.
HUNGRY AND "SUSPICIOUS"
Wealthy Women Tour the East Side with Gifts, Buying Apples from Unemployed.
75,000 Needy Fed by City on Thanksgiving
Leaders to Spare Provided as Agencies Combine to Insure That None Be Left Comfortless on Holiday
Season's Coldest Day Brings Snow Flurry
Missions, Churches, Police and Philanthropies Care for Unemployed
DOLE BRINGS IDLE THANKSGIVING JOY
Lines Form Again at 87 Police Stations for Food Distribution
450 TONS OF FOOD GIVEN TO NEEDY, BUT SUPPLY FAILS
Hundreds With Tickets Turned Away at Five Police Stations Because of Shortage.
1000 GET WORK TODAY AS POLICE GIVE OUT FOOD
Out-of-Town Men in Majority at Bread Lines and Soup Kitchens Here.
WOODS TELLS IDLE TO STAY AT HOME
Chairman of Hoover Board Radios Advice
SALVATION ARMY HOST TO JOBLESS
2,500 Enjoy Dinner Declared "Fit for President"
MENU HEADED BY TURKEY
Women and Children Also at Feast in Childs
20,000 TO GET SECOND QUOTA OF FOOD TODAY
Police Begin Distribution of Thanksgiving Dinners, but Without Turkey.
THEY PLAY AGAIN FOR THE UNEMPLOYED
For the Benefit SALVATION ARMY RELIEF FUND for the Unemployed
SEES RELIEF ABUSED IN BREAD LINES HERE
Porter Lea of President's Committee Calls New York Haven for Idle of Country.
REGISTRATION PLAN URGED
Tickets to Check "Repeaters" at Free Meals and Centralized Organization is Proposed.
NEEDY FAMILIES GET 20,000 BAGS OF FOOD
Police Distribute Week's Supply to Hungry Families as Relief Fund Grows to $4,656,000.
BREAD LINES LEAD TO TURKEY MENUS
New York Plays Lady Bountiful to Thanksgiving Guests
HUNGRY JOBLESS ARE FED
Entire Nation Outdoes Itself in Aid to Unfortunates
Men Wait in Line All Night at Central Work Bureau
FINAL APPEAL STARTS FOR JOBS AND FUNDS
$6,776,511 in Emergency Fund With Only Two Days Left to Reach $8,000,000.
"GIFTS" OF WORK SOUGHT
Mayor's Group Asks Practical Holiday Cheer for Needy in Chance to Earn It.
ARMORY SHELTER PLANNED
4,000 Pairs of Shoes Given to Pupils Found Lacking Clothes to Attend Classes
CITY NEEDY ARE FED ON A RECORD SCALE BY HOLIDAY BOUNTY
Gifts of Municipality Alone Reunite 15,000 Poor Families at Thanksgiving Feasts.
$6,275,000 GIFT OF INDUSTRY TO AID OF JOBLESS
SAY JOBLESS RELIEF SLIGHTS VETERANS
Legion Officials Charge Help Is Denied to Service Men by Welfare Agencies.
SEEK MAYOR'S AID TODAY
Knights of Columbus to Issue Food to Job Hunters—Fund Nears $5,000,000 Mark.
Army Victor OverNavy,6-0, In $600,000 Charity Game
JOBLESS INFLUX NEW PROBLEM OF RELIEF AGENCIES
Smith Group Today Will Seek Solution of Lengthening Bread Lines
NON-RESIDENTS FLOCK IN. INCREASING BURDEN HERE
MILLION FOR IDLE ROCKEFELLER GIFT
Merchants Adopt Relief Plan
COAL FUND HELPS
NEW IDLE TYPES
- an appeal to New York's employed to help those who are temporarily unemployed
130 FAMILIES GET FREE COAL TODAY
Holiday to Be Made Cheerful Through World Fund
More Big Gifts for Needy
20,000 CARTONS OF FOOD TO BE DISTRIBUTED TODAY
CHILDREN JOBLESS, COLD, WIDOW IS ILL
Mother Has Taken All but One, 13, From School to Aid
UNABLE TO DO SCRUBBING
Wood From Subway Work Only Fuel They Have
POLICE GIVE FIRST CITY DOLES TO UNEMPLOYED
Damper Put on Vast Sums to Assist Idle
Business Could Be Far Worse, Schwab Asserts
'Confirmed Optimist' Presides for 15th Time at Dinner of Penn. Society
Sees Depression Passing
Hundreds in Line for $5 a Day Jobs—Salvationists Ask School Help
2 ROCKEFELLERS GIVE $1,000,000 TO HELP JOBLESS
Joint Gift of John D. and Son Means 200,000 Days' Work for Needy
None to Go Hungry in U.S., Says Hoover
$150,000,000 Fund for Idle Urged in Hoover Message,
MOST FAMILIES HELD NEAR WANT
CARNEGIE CO. GIVES $250.000 FOR IDLE
CITY DONATIONS FOR NEEDY NOW AT $2,512,000

by such a program. Fascists and communists are becoming constantly more violent and aggravate each other by their excesses. The fear of each that an overt act may increase the danger of the other is for the moment making for peace; but it is an armed peace in an unhealthy nation.

Bishop Manning and Judge Lindsey

More and more we begin to doubt all theories of human progress. Our particular scepticism at this moment is prompted by the recent fracas in New York between Bishop Manning and former Judge Lindsey. The latter has an idea that young people should be permitted to practice birth control in the early years of their marriage and that, if the established relationship does not issue in children, divorce shall be easier than when children are involved. Both ideas are to a large extent already in force. We do not know why Judge Lindsey insists on calling his combination of ideas "companionate marriage." It may be because he wants to get publicity for his views and it may be because Judge Lindsey, while an honest soul, is not an especially profound or consistent thinker. The only danger involved in his views is that he may underestimate the psychological hazard to a permanent marital relationship created by the suggestion that the relation need not be permanent. Marital relations involve many adjustments and it is just possible that people who enter them with the assumption that they need not be permanent will have greater difficulty in making them permanent than those who begin with a contrary attitude.

Whatever the defects of Judge Lindsey's views, they are hardly so revolutionary as the title under which he propagates them would seem to imply. Intelligent people are quite aware of this fact, but Bishop Manning seems not to be. Even if the former judge's theory were as dangerous as the bishop foolishly imagines, it would scarcely justify Dr. Manning in taking this controversial issue into the pulpit and spicing his remarks with vituperation and calumny. If the pulpit enters the field of controversy it ought to have the decency to give those who disagree with its pronouncements a fair chance of making their replies. Bishop Manning is not a particularly sensitive soul, and we can well imagine that in his own mind his poor taste and bad judgment have long since been dramatized as a heroic defense of the Christian virtues. And Judge Lindsey probably regards himself as the brave protagonist of the cause of liberalism. As a matter of fact, his effort to answer the bishop in the cathedral was about as sensible as throwing a rotten egg at the leading actress of a bad play.

When a controversy involving as little insight into the real problems of modern man as this one can gain as much publicity as has been given the Manning-Lindsey row, and when as many seemingly sensible people imagine that something vital is at stake one way or the other, we are confirmed in our pessimistic conclusions about the progress of mankind. The only moral we are able to draw from the whole incident is a wish that as honest a soul as the judge had a mind equal to his sincerity, and that as little a man as the bishop could be relegated to innocuous desuetude. We shudder when we think how long he may continue to fight his sham battles in the great metropolis.

The Moscow Trial

The guess of one man is as good as another's in trying to determine whether or not the Moscow trial of eight conspirators was fraudulent. Our hardened editorial heart was sceptical about the trial from the beginning, but we resolved to let the final sentence of punishment decide the question for us. Our scepticism arose from the fact that even the most sympathetic correspondents seemed to have some question in their minds about the honesty of the trial, and because the long self-accusations of the conspirators failed either to link the foreign agents with the alleged plot in any convincing fashion or to specify the actual sabotage, supposedly committed, in sufficient detail to give the story plausibility. Furthermore, the theatrical nature of the trial, with its radio and movie accompaniments, and the obvious design of the officials to use the administration of justice for the purpose of raising the hatred and fear of the populace against the outside capitalistic world made the whole show seem fraudulent.

When the sentences of five of the eight conspirators were commuted from death to ten years' imprisonment, we were all but convinced that the thing was a gigantic hoax. Further reflection makes us less certain. Our final guess is that the conspirators were actually caught in some kind of disobedience. It may not have been any more than alliance with right-wing opposition forces, and it may have been actual sabotage. Realizing their plight, the accused men made a real story out of it, either by connivance with the prosecution or because their dramatic instinct led them to discern the one possible way out of their predicament. The fact that they were pardoned with a great gesture of generosity on the part of the government, when only a few weeks ago several dozen men were executed for crimes much less important than the ones to which these conspirators confessed, still leaves in the critical mind a suspicion of connivance between prosecution and defense. But Russia is a strange country and a veritable abyss yawns between her psychology and our own. Our guess may be wrong. Right or wrong we don't like that kind of trial; but while Mooney and Billings are still in jail, we will say no more.

More Important Than Prohibition

What is the most significant issue in American political life? THE WORLD TOMORROW regards economic and international questions as more important than prohibition. The paramount political issue of the day is this: shall we adhere to a policy of semi-anarchistic individualism or shall we deliberately pursue a policy of intelligent social control? And, if we choose the latter, shall we advocate the violent overthrow of the existing order, or shall we seek radical changes by pacific, constitutional means? The titanic struggle of this age is between capitalism, communism, and socialism. All other political issues are subordinate to this overshadowing conflict.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is convinced that the Kingdom of God on earth cannot be realized until radical changes—deep-rooted, far-reaching changes—are made in our present society. It is opposed to violent social revolution. Instead, it advocates the substitution of public service for private gain as the motive of conduct, and urges the adoption of a policy of increasing social control by pacific means including: public ownership and operation of water power, coal mines and other natural resources, means of transportation and communication, and the major means of production; steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes as a source of revenue and method of social control of wealth; land taxes that will absorb the unearned increment accruing from rising values of land; a comprehensive system of social insurance covering unemployment, old age, child-birth, sickness and accidents; a legal minimum wage; assistance in the coöperative movement; safeguarding of the rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively.

Closely related and of enormous significance comes a combination of international questions including: tariffs, war debts, immigration, the race of armaments, imperialism, the World Court, the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris, etc. The tearing down of the war system and the strengthening of the peace system are urgently required.

We believe that the achievement of an adequate program of reconstruction in the realms of economic and international affairs awaits a new political alignment in this country. We see no hope of securing drastic changes through the Republican or Democratic parties and consequently are supporting the Socialist party. We regard with enthusiasm the educational efforts of the League for Independent Political Action and hope that eventually the present Socialist party may be merged into a more comprehensive party based upon the theory of increasing social control.

THE WORLD TOMORROW therefore is greatly distressed by the movement which seeks to subordinate economic and international questions to prohibition as *the* moral issue. Its editors are all consistent opponents of the liquor traffic, but they also regard unemployment insurance as a moral issue, the reduction of tariffs as a moral issue, the abolition of war as a moral issue. This magazine finds itself unable to support a party or a candidate running upon a platform which is dry but reactionary. Rather than support a prohibitionist who is opposed to unemployment insurance, disarmament, and the League of Nations, it seeks to accelerate the movement for a new political alignment in the United States. Concerning various aspects of prohibition we shall have more to say in future issues. For the present we merely repeat our previous assertion that something must be done to rescue the values inherent in prohibition from the extremists on both sides.

This Delirious World!

Herbert Hoover deserves prolonged applause for his courageous course in submitting the protocols of the World Court to the Senate for ratification. That in so doing the President took dangerous political risks cannot be questioned.

But what more damning indictment could possibly be brought against present-day politics than to say that heroism is required to sponsor so mild and inoffensive a measure! What conceivable harm could befall the United States as a result of our entrance into the Court? Under the proposed terms of our adherence, the tribunal would possess absolutely no jurisdiction in any dispute in which we were involved except by the express permission of our Government. The signing of the Optional Clause, which would give the Court compulsory jurisdiction in legal disputes of an international character—as has already been done by Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and some twenty-five other countries—is viewed with alarm in Washington, and no whispered desire for so radical a procedure is being breathed in official circles.

If the Senate should ratify the protocols without reservations, the total distance that would thereby be traveled by the United States would be the almost invisibly short step of saying that in the event of a legal dispute with another nation our Government *might possibly* consent to a settlement by the World Court, without in any way binding us to adopt such a judicial procedure. The psychological value of favorable action by the Senate would be enormous but the legal effects would be limited. Yet even this short step strikes terror into the hearts of anti-Court Senators.

And this at a time when the people of the United States are becoming inextricably entangled in the economic and financial affairs of the entire earth. Year by year our property interests are being extended around the globe. Already fifteen *billion* American dollars are invested abroad. Competition with other

powers is becoming more and more relentless. Potential causes of hostility are multiplying with the closer interdependence of peoples in an increasingly complex world. Even a low-grade moron should be able to recognize the urgency of the need for the machinery of pacific settlement of international controversies. The World Court is only one of several absolutely indispensable agencies of international justice. Unless the United States aids in strengthening the machinery of peace, our Government will some day feel obliged to wage war in defense of our property rights in other lands or on the high seas.

Opponents of the Court shriek loudly about "entangling alliances." Entangling alliances! We are already tied hand and foot and neck to all mankind by cords of gold and steel and rubber. Splendid isolation! Then canned sardines dwell in spacious mansions!

Far more drastic measures than entrance into the Court are urgently demanded by the series of ominous international crises with which we are now confronted. Ten precious years have already been consumed in acrimonious debate about the Court. A tragic volume of energy has been diverted from more rewarding channels. Only a blind and paralyzed citizenry will submit longer to obstructionist tactics. Telegrams, letters, petitions, and resolutions by hundreds of thousands should be rained upon members of the Senate. Nothing but a cyclone of popular demand will blow the cobwebs out of the befuddled brains of isolationist Senators.

When Jew Meets Christian

A university club that refuses membership to every Jewish graduate, as university clubs in many cities do, does so not because a Henri Bergson, a Walter Lippmann, a Herbert Lehman, or a Roger Straus is intellectually, socially, or religiously uninteresting; the prejudiced club members are merely subconsciously hostile toward Jews as an "out-group." And that hostility is bound to make for unhappiness among the victims of the discrimination. Albert Einstein may write,

> Isolation is sometimes bitter, but I do not regret being cut off from the understanding and sympathy of other men. I lose something by it, to be sure, but I am compensated for it in being rendered independent of the customs, opinions, and prejudices of others, and am not tempted to rest my peace of mind upon such shifting foundations.

Nevertheless, deep down in everybody's heart hostility wounds.

The psychologist helps us to account for inter-cultural discriminations on occupational, educational, political, and religious frontiers. Members of a given culture habitituate themselves to a set of appreciative attitudes toward those within their group, and at the same time nurture a set of depreciative attitudes toward all who are outside. An extreme illustration of this is the in-group and out-group psychology of the Allies and their attitude toward all Germans during the World War. Furthermore, members of a group practice one ethic in their associations with each other and a different ethic toward members of an out-group. The *mores* of the white man in his relationships with Negroes is a case in point.

Understanding "how we get that way," as James Harvey Robinson suggests, may help us to do something about inter-cultural hostilities. The Committee on Goodwill Between Jews and Christians of the Federal Council of Churches has been studying the extent to which children in Sunday schools are conditioned against Jews. Another effort to solve the problem of race prejudice is being made by the National Conference of Jews and Christians which is assisting local communities in various parts of the United States to call round-tables for discussion of mutual problems. The leaders of this movement are convinced that there is value in the conference method. Just as the Institute of Pacific Relations through its conferences is cultivating friendship between peoples of widely differing national cultures so, too, conferences between Jews and Christians are multiplying trans-cultural comradeships which, once established, are seldom shattered. Proof of this was apparent in the annual seminar of the National Conference of Jews and Christians held in New York early in December at which Protestants, Catholics and Jews exchanged the friendly give-and-take of discussion.

A society divided against itself in a world that has become physically integrated is a sick society. When a psychiatrist speaks of a neurosis he means an abnormal condition of unresolved inner conflict. An isolated culture-group with unresolved antipathies suffers from a neurosis. The cure for such a social neurosis lies in helping each group to overcome the causes of its irritations and to view them in a new relation to all the social factors involved. Reconciliation between antagonistic social fragments depends upon probing into their emotional attitudes toward each other. Christians must set up laboratories for curing anti-Semitic prejudice, and Jews in turn should analyze their complexes about the *goyim*. To be sure, there is danger of swinging from the extreme of fanaticism to the opposite wing of enervation, of indifference to group loyalties. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews alike must discipline themselves to express their own cultural *drive*, at the same time granting to other groups a reasonable and just place in the world commonwealth. A long task in social education on inter-cultural relationships is ahead, and it is as important a job as any that faces the democratic experiment.

Militant Pacifism

PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN

WHEN pacifists come together they usually have the feeling that they are the sheep and the wolves are outside. The trouble is that pacifists generally contact only their own groups—that is to say, those who are already convinced. They make no effort to go afield and convert others. Serious-minded pacifists should try actually to do something instead of contenting themselves with idle dreams or merely talking about their pacifism. Our next step is to act—to *do something.* We must realize that when war comes, everyone considers it his duty to commit a crime—the crime of killing. People must be made to understand the immorality of war. They must do everything in their power to disentangle themselves from this antiquated, barbarous institution and to free themselves from the shackles of slavery.

For this I have two suggestions. One of them has already been tried and found practical. It is the refusal to engage in war service of any kind, under any circumstances. Even at the risk of great personal sacrifice and hardship all who wish to do something concrete toward world pacification must refuse war service. Pacifists who mean what they say should adopt this position in time of peace even in countries where there is compulsory military service. In other countries, where there is no such service, pacifists should declare openly that they will never bear arms or take part in any military service whatsoever. I advise the recruiting of people for this idea all over the world. And for the timid ones who say, "What is the use of our trying, we are so few in number," my answer is: "If you can get only two per cent of the population of the world to assert in time of peace that they will not fight, you will have the solution for international troubles." Even so small a proportion as two per cent will accomplish the desired result, for they could not be put in jail. There are not enough jails in the world to accommodate them!

The second suggestion I offer appears less illegal. International legislation should be attuned to the idea that those who declare themselves against war should, in time of peace, be allowed to take up some kind of difficult or even dangerous work either for their country or for the international benefit of mankind. In this way they can prove that their opposition to war is not prompted by selfish or cowardly motives.

I feel confident that whoever adopts this program will eventually succeed in establishing international legislation either by legal or other methods. I advise all war resisters to organize and to internationalize; I also advise them to collect money so that they may reinforce war resisters in other countries who have no means with which to carry on their work. Let all those who wish to promote pacifism, who have the courage to suffer, devote their energy to the initiation of these activities and stand firm so that the whole world may see and respect them for what they are doing.

—An address delivered before the New History Society, New York City, December 14, 1930. Translated by Mme. Rosika Schwimmer.

The Balance Sheet of British Labor

DEVERE ALLEN

BEHIND the fog which for weeks has hung about the House of Commons, rumor has succeeded rumor, growing fat on the secret maneuvers within the ranks of every party. Varying from the fantastic to the plausible, these emanations from the whispering galleries presage a gory split within the Labor Ministry; a Liberal-Labor Coalition; Mr. Henderson as Prime Minister; and Ramsay MacDonald as the new Viceroy to India. In the past, so much of substance has attended just such rumors that the most cautious onlookers dare not scout them as mere piffle.

Rumors aside, however, events move swiftly toward a new phase of the British labor movement. While MacDonald and Lloyd George join in denying the existence of a definite coalition, a deal has certainly been made. Liberal support for the Trades Disputes Bill which rescinds the drastic restrictions imposed on labor unions by the Conservatives under the influence of the reactionary Joynson-Hicks, has been bought by an Electoral Reform Act which by alternative voting will allow Lloyd George's party a fairer representation in the House. Smiles have come back to the Cabinet; but Mr. Lloyd George, as J. L. Garvin astutely puts it, is in charge though not in office.

If an election were held today, the outcome would be an overwhelming Tory victory. By its moderation, its vagueness, and its temporizing, the Government has not succeeded in winning the non-labor voter; by its carelessness toward its own professed principles and its arrogant disregard for Labor critics, it is alienating substantial groups of previously loyal backers. There are lengths of compromise and adaptation to which no political organization can go and still retain the least shred of its self-respect and honor. Toward the margin of that dark abyss the present leadership has brought the Party perilously close.

The leaders' case rests, of course, on the fact that it is a minority Government, unable to retain office and at the same time push for anything beyond what it can purchase from the Liberals. It is sincerely convinced, and not without reason, that a return of Tory rule would mean reactionary international economic policies and war-breeding diplomacy. It hates to go out now, hoping desperately for an end of the depression, a spectacular settlement with India, or some other miracle, to restore it in public confidence. It fails to see how extensively it is enmeshed in the perpetuation of the very things it fears, nor does it realize the narrow gap between some of its international policies, even, and those, say, of a Baldwin hampered by a militant, united Labor Opposition.

IN the meantime, the Government staggers on. Even the Conservatives refer to it as "nominally Socialist." *The Week-end Review* declares it to be "tottering to its doom"; *The Observer* finds it "gone at the knees"; while *The Saturday Review* exultantly states that "There is evidence on all hands of a timidity that amounts almost to terror."

On the other side, despite the loyalty of the Trades Union Congress leaders, from whom Labor derives great political strength, the workers daily grow more restive. Miss Bondfield, speaking before a Labor audience, reverts to the usual defense of "But we are only a minority," whereupon the crowd bursts into song: "Tell Me the Old, Old Story." Every recent by-election exhibits a heavy Labor loss, and, possibly more significant, a considerable drop in the total of votes cast, interpreted generally as the unwillingness of disillusioned workers to vote either for or against the Labor Party. The nation-wide municipal elections registered substantial Labor losses, reversing a splendid seven-years' uninterrupted gain. The Liberal *News-Chronicle* well expresses the situation when it says: "Undoubtedly large numbers of Labor M. P.'s, apart from the open and recognized rebels, are beginning to realize that the only hope of retaining their seats when an election comes is by exhibiting indignation at official apathy and incompetence, and proving that they are much better Socialists than the Government itself."

IN a number of minor matters, the present Government has been unquestionably progressive. After ten years of persistent delay, the ratification by Great Britain of the Washington Hours Convention (1919) providing for the eight-hour day and the forty-eight hour week as a standard, will become a fact if Parliament, as seems certain, passes the new bill put forward by the Ministry of Labor. A Widows' Pensions Act, far below what Labor wanted but the best it could get through, has brought a half million needy women under its aid. The British share of the Boxer Indemnity of 1901 has recently been remitted, with the proviso that $16,000,000 will be free for any constructive use desired by China, while $37,500,000 will be spent in the United Kingdom for manufactured goods. The Home Secretary, Mr. Clynes, has shown a commendable interest in prison reform; his Select Committee on Capital Punishment, preparing to recommend a five-year suspension of the death penalty as a trial, has stuck to its position notwithstanding the resignation of all Tory members.

Herbert Morrison, Minister of Transport, has announced a project for the transfer of London traffic to public ownership, though the scheme is hardly as thoroughgoing on analysis as its sounds. The Government's Education Bill raises the school-leaving age to fifteen and provides maintenance grants to poor parents, and although the Cabinet surrendered to the Liberal demand for a year's postponement of its operation, it is a measure generally sound both educationally and with regard to unemployment. Whereas previous British governments have been notoriously lax in the prevention of the opium traffic, lagging behind the moves of other nations, Labor is responding differently, though it is yet too early to say whether it will be able to affect daringly, in the right direction, the final conference next May at Geneva.

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, in the opinion of most critics, means business when he cries: "My object is to tread down into the dust every slum that exists in this country." The popular Minister of Health worked out and put through a Slum Clearance Act which, while far from adequate, is a decided step ahead, and something no Tory or Liberal Government would have done. The Rent Restriction Act, which the Tories were hoping to repeal, has been extended for another year pending an inquiry into the rental question, thus preventing a threatened rise intolerable to the workers under present circumstances.

By changes in taxation, with Liberal help, some $200,000,000 has been diverted from great wealth and put to work in social service. It is worth noting that Mr. Snowden has been accused (most wildly) by the conservative *Saturday Review* of using taxation "not as a means of balancing the Budget, but as a definite instrument to do by taxation what Lenin and Trotzky did by the sword."

UNDER the leadership of Dr. Addison, Minister of Agriculture, the Government's Land Settlement Bill is going forward. This measure, which is more or less justly claimed to be "the first sign of interest shown by any party in the farm and farm worker," provides the sum of $5,000,000 for experiments in large-scale farming, a most modest sum; $25,000,000 for the re-conditioning of land suitable for cultivation; and indefinite sums, governed by progress, for the settlement of smallholders and also some of the unemployed, upon the land. Dr. Addison includes in his project the education of the farmer in modern methods, and the organization of the producers into co-operatives for marketing.

The Imperial Conference, which ended last November, was in some respects noteworthy although branded in the press as a failure. Through granting almost every want of the Dominions, cheerfully, in service to a democratic principle, the Labor Government went far toward the transformation of tight-drawn Empire into a free Commonwealth of Nations. When the Irish Free State, the South African Union, and Australia came rather belligerently into the meeting to claim the right to secede, it was granted so informally and quickly that their breath failed and the speeches toward that end were weak affairs, given perfunctorily for home consumption. The main demand, however, was refused. Never had a campaign for putting over protective tariffs on free-trade Britain been so well organized, so unscrupulous in certain quarters, or so calculated to weaken Labor's hold in order to win out. Messrs. Bennett of Canada and Scullin of Australia used every effort to force Protection, in the form of British Empire solidarity against the rest of the world, down the throats of MacDonald and the indomitable Snowden. It must be pointed out, nevertheless, that scant courage was required to take this stand, since the Liberals, more free trade than Labor, demanded that very thing. And it is deplorable that Victorian free trade conceptions seem of themselves to be now entirely adequate to Mr Snowden on the antiquated "system" of *laissez faire* capitalistic competition.

There is every reason to believe that Sidney Webb (who calls himslf Lord Passfield because the vicissitudes of the hour compel it but whose wife is still "Mrs. Webb") had no slightest notion of the furore he was to let loose by his inept handling of the Palestine White Paper. He intended simple justice for both Jews and Arabs, leaning understandably toward the weaker *fellaheen;* yet abruptly reversing a *status quo,* as understood, without sufficient consultation with the affected Zionists. His Government is doing its level best to reconsider the question, seeking of course some way of making an adjustment which will at the same time save its face. Time, in my judgment, will make this blunder seem less serious than it now appears. Against the Palestine affair, be it known that the Colonial Office is on the whole adhering to a policy in Africa of "natives first," running thereby a gauntlet of outraged criticism and abuse from imperialistic whites.

IT is generally conceded that in foreign affairs the Labor Government has done well. But it is also conceded by Labor's own supporters that it is doing less well all the time. Even the London Naval Conference, which at least did something to prevent the growth of a hostile armament race between Britain and the United States, contains a clause, inserted chiefly at the insistence of the British delegation, which allows new building if an outside party (meaning in this case France or Italy or both, since Britain's navy must exceed these two combined) builds up so far that "the requirements of national security" demand building on the part of a signatory. While the Government has taken away its appropriation for the cadets, it has refused to do so in the case of the

Officers' Training Corps. The 1924 Labor Ministry insisted, for prudential political reasons, on laying down five new cruisers previously planned, though this was in the face of much Liberal opposition. The present Government, quite unnecessarily, gave the victims of the R101 crash a most elaborately military funeral. The same Government carries on at Porton, in Wiltshire, extensive experiments on men and animals with poison gases. When the Imperial Conference was in progress, it seemed necessary to the MacDonald Ministry, either to satisfy the corps of permanent officials or to demonstrate the general conformity of the Government, to entertain the visiting premiers by tremendous preparedness demonstrations—tanks and troops and guns and transport at Aldershot, air maneuvers at Croydon, sham naval battles in the Channel.

The Government's step to abandon formal international wreath-laying on cenotaphs and tombs of unknown soldiers required courage, but when the protests came, it sought to explain that the idea was only to prevent the ceremony from becoming perfunctory. This sort of "official utterance," always a silly thing, was at its worst when, after partially yielding to the demands of Australia and New Zealand for resumption of work on the naval base at Singapore, it was let out that the graving dock will be completed but the defense works held in abeyance, this "strategic retreat" being explained on the ground that a total abandonment of the plan would be very expensive.

IN the Preparatory Disarmament Commission Viscount Cecil, for the MacDonald Government, has exhibited striking ineffectiveness. To be sure, his move for a Permanent Disarmament Commission to examine into and in measure to control armaments, might have considerable value. But the British delegation, running counter to strong home opinion in all parties, gave in to France on the important question of direct limitation of armed forces, voting for budgetary limitation to the surprise of French observers most of all. Further, Viscount Cecil secured a clause in the Convention allowing the upbuilding of armies when a rebellion is considered imminent, giving as his reason, the following day, the existence of British control over India. What is still more significant, in the face of the perilous and justifiable demands for an overhauling of the iniquitous Versailles Treaty (which will be changed either by intelligence or war), the British delegates lined up with the French bloc to jam through a provision prohibiting the reconsideration of previous treaties. All Europe is astounded by this reversal, which vitiates the fine words spoken by Arthur Henderson at the League Assembly last fall.

It is hardly necessary to write at great length about the Government's attitude on India. This Labor Party, which before taking office vigorously protested against Tory tactics in the great sub-continent, is today practicing those very tactics relentlessly. Wherever the police beat up non-violent natives for their demonstrations, it is because a spineless Labor Cabinet speaks through the portal of 10 Downing Street. When bombs are dropped on troublesome tribes, it is because Labor dullards, devoid of imagination, can think of nothing better than the imitation of their Tory predecessors. When Gandhi and his fellow-idealists both Hindu and Moslem are held behind bars while a post of important leadership at the Round Table is assigned to the horse-racing sportsman-financier, the Aga Khan, nothing more need be done to show the unfitness of this Government to lead a movement for freedom. The Round Table Conference has a few excellent people in it, and the outspoken character of the speeches made by the Indian delegates was to many a surprise; but these "delegates" are British-picked, and as they very well know, represent scarcely anybody but themselves. Few informed observers here believe the chances of the Conference producing a united program are good; and if they should work out a plan, it is hardly credible that it would be accepted by the Indian National Congress, the only body which in India really counts.

In June, 1929, Philip Snowden delivered himself as follows: "In our first session, we shall deal with unemployment, and bring relief and hope to the workers of this land. We will not disappoint those who have shown faith in us." Though the Unemployment Insurance Act was instituted before the War and was extended as insurance against revolution by the post-War Government of 1920, Labor has recently made it more liberal and just. No Tory Government, assuredly, would have done as much; of the Liberals I am not so sure. The MacDonald Ministry, with the aid of the Liberals, has put through unemployment schemes costing ultimately over a five-year period, $600,000,000, and it expects thereby to bring into employment a hundred thousand jobless annually. But how to do more than this it does not seem to know. No perfect solution exists; yet in its own Socialist platform, particularly as developed for years by the Independent Labor Party, it has ready to its nerveless hand worthwhile procedures which it seems to have forgotten. When Mr. Snowden declares that he cannot find another farthing for public works but discovers $87,500 for an annual subsidy to the Covent Garden Opera Syndicate, he starts the House galleries to chuckling over the slogan proffered by one wag: *Non opus sed Opera.*

THE workers can hardly escape the feeling that they are losing out. The main hope of Socialism was its program to raise the consuming power of the masses. Instead of increased pay, their wages,

already scandalously small, are being lowered right and left. When the Bank of England was persuaded by the Government to loan unrevealed amounts to industries in their need of rehabilitation, no guarantees were secured regarding wages or conditions for the workers in those trades. In cotton the stretch-out system is being foisted upon the weavers, without pay raises, increasing the number of looms per worker from four to six or eight and even ten. The London, Midland and Scottish railroad system is trying to force through wage cuts which will lower wages to five shillings a day for thousands of workers, while, belatedly, as a "sacrifice," the directors have pledged a cut in fees (which are an extra sideline income) to $5,500 a year. In coal, an industry which has been sabotaging the Government's Coal Mines Act (a most tame bill) so that the new marketing provisions have not helped it, the owners technically violate the mandatory 7½-hour day by instituting the "spreadover" of 11 eight-hour days in a fortnight. In this they receive no dangerous threats from the Cabinet, but Mr. MacDonald did take occasion to warn the miners that if they refused to allow certain local unions to accept a temporary three-months' spreadover, the Government might have to withdraw the legal provision entitling the Miners' Federation, in the larger cause of the miners as a whole, to veto the decisions of local bodies.

Sir Oswald Mosley, brilliant, wealthy, forceful, presses vigorously for a ruling Council of Five to handle the nation's affairs, with emergency authority. He urges a temporary suspension of war debt payments; temporary tariffs, (especially on luxuries), with regulation of prices, wages, and working conditions; regulation of basic industries to assure high pay to labor; and various other drastic measures. For this program there is no indication of serious headway. It is full of danger internationally and at home; not without a little justice, certainly, is Mosely called "the English Hitler."

While A. J. Cook and seventeen Labor M. P.'s signed Mosley's Manifesto of December sixth, including the I.L.P. radicals, Oliver Baldwin and Will J. Brown, the bulk of the I.L.P. rebels refused it their allegiance. James Maxton, chairman of the I.L.P., holds that more democracy is needed, not less. He is also firm in the international view. The I.L.P. whose program Mosley also embraces to a large degree, proposes the establishment of Import Boards (as now existing in the case of dyestuffs) which would be used to prohibit the entry of "sweated" goods, thus stifling unfair competition while leaving genuine trade untrammeled; bulk purchases of goods to stabilize prices (different from U. S. A. "price-fixing" in important details); international action to raise standards in all countries; and the regulation of investments in cheap-labor regions. Emphatically, both groups would enter directly into the field of labor controversy and throw their weight against the interests which exploit workers with cruel cynicism.

BOTH groups of rebels feel certain that the present leaders' tactics mean the early crumbling of the Labor Party as an instrument of significant social change. They are pressing their program, therefore, irrespective of how it wounds the sensibilities of the older men. They believe it less important to placate Liberals and Tories than to keep the confidence and loyalty of the working class from which the movement sprang. Contrary to what I had once been inclined to think, my observation here leads me to the opinion that it is the Government, rather than the rebels, which is most fretful, acrimonious, and divisive. Mr. MacDonald is making Woodrow Wilson's mistake of trying to do too much himself, and his nerves, along with those of his associates, are definitely fraying; I could cite unpleasant episodes to prove this point, but see no value in it.

Mr. Clynes becomes sardonic and says, in describing the mood of the I.L.P., "The Government is always wrong." That is a childish perversion of the facts. I have listened to speakers from all sides of this debate, and I have heard Maxton, Brockway, Paton, Wise, Will Brown, Jenny Lee and others preface their criticisms with a fair recital of the Government's achievements. At a recent conference, Maxton spent so much time on the amenities that he got only halfway through his speech of censure.

Using its majority, the Government through the Parliamentary Labor Party seems determined to intimidate dissenters. They have been called up for discipline on petty matters. An anti-Government vote by any rebel means a grilling on the carpet, despite the presence of eighty M.P.'s in the House who have at one time or another in the past committed that grievous sin with no ensuing hullaballoo. When MacDonald moved the King's Address, he refused to allow time for the I.L.P.'s critical amendment, though granting two days to the Conservatives for theirs; whereupon the I.L.P. had to appeal to the Speaker for time, which he, a fair Conservative, provided.

The new Liberal-Labor co-operation will last, perhaps, until late spring, though if it holds out that long many will be surprised. That Labor can go on very much further, nobody believes. Unless indeed a miracle happens, it will be defeated. The question is, will it be beaten as a sold-out semi-failure, or will it go down fighting for the things it has put forward as its own? If the last, it can come back in a few years strengthened and triumphant. If the former, as I fear is all but certain, the movement will be split wide open, and the minority radicals will become the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Not in the Headlines

Votes for Women in Turkey

Under the terms of the new law which went into effect last September, Turkish women are now eligible to election as members of municipal councils throughout the nation.

Celebrating Armistice Day

Because he considers Armistice Day more important than most of the Saints Days recognized by the Episcopal Church, Gardiner M. Day, rector of St. John's Church, Williamstown, Massachusetts, celebrated the Holy Communion on November 11th. The service was intended not so much to commemorate the spirit of those who gave their lives for their country as to rededicate Christians to peace ideals.

No Rest for the—

The Education Protective Association of America sends out the announcement that the Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities is once more on the move. The Ely Institute, identified by the Association with the cause of private ownership of utilities and the "Power Trust," originated in the University of Wisconsin, later moved to Northwestern, and is now headed ostensibly for New York University.

Prosperity Among Banks

The ten largest banks in the world, five in the United States and five in London, controlled at the end of the last fiscal year close to $15,000,000,000 in deposits. The banks, in the order of their deposit totals are as follows: Chase National Bank, Midland Bank, Ltd., Barclays Bank, Ltd., National City Bank, Westminster Bank, Guaranty Trust Company, National Provincial Bank, Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company, and the Bank of Italy of N. A.

Danville on Strike

More than 4,000 mill workers in Danville, Virginia, have been on strike since September in protest against a wage cut and the installation of the stretch-out system. An unofficial Church Emergency Committee has been organized for the relief of the strikers and their families, with headquarters at 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Among the members of the committee are: Alva W. Taylor of Nashville, W. Russell Bowie and Worth M. Tippy of New York, P. H. Hooks of Danville, Ronald Tamblyn of Greensboro, N. C., and Bishop Charles K. Gilbert of New York.

The High Cost of Society Buds

According to Miss Martha Maynard, social director who makes arrangements for elite parties, the cost of introducing a daughter of the smartest set to other smart people in New York this winter will be about $40,000. This amount which is usually spent on a single coming-out party includes the following items: evening gowns, $2,000 to $6,000; flowers, $5,000 to $12,000; ball room rental, $1,000; orchestra, $4,000; food, $20,000. It is expected that 200 debutantes will be introduced to New York this season, making a total cost of $8,000,000, an amount which is exactly eight times what the New York City Board of Estimate has voted for unemployment relief.

Britannia Asserts Its Prerogative

The Cunard Company plans to construct a ship of 70,000 tons, with a speed of 30 knots an hour. The vessel will accommodate 4,000 passengers and carry a crew of 800. It will far exceed in size the *Leviathan,* now holding sway over the Atlantic with a registered tonnage of 59,957.

Negroes and Prohibition

During the last three years the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals has enrolled 500,000 Negroes as signers of the pledge of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. Three-fourths of the signers were students in schools and colleges.

Religion in the United States

A detailed analysis of the Federal Census of Religious Bodies in 1926 reveals the following interesting statistics on religion in this country: Fifty-five per cent of the adult population of the United States are church members. Of the church membership, 61.5 per cent is Protestant, 30 per cent is Roman Catholic, 6.6 per cent is Jewish. Other bodies, including Mormons and Eastern Orthodox, total 1.9 per cent. There are 232,000 churches in the country, maintained by voluntary gifts, as against 256,000 public school buildings, maintained by public taxation.

Selling Ideas Instead of Apples

A new 32-page magazine, *The Unemployed,* recently went on sale in New York City. The magazine is published by the League for Industrial Democracy in the interest of constructive discussion of the unemployment problem, and to provide unemployed men and women with a source of income. It is supplied to the unemployed at five cents a copy and is sold for ten cents. The contents of the magazine as well as editorial services are given without charge, and no profit accrues to any individual or organization except the unemployed persons who sell the magazine. The first issue contained articles by Heywood Broun, Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard, Harry F. Ward, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Harry W. Laidler, Abraham Epstein, Henry Neumann and Morris Ernst as well as drawings by Flambo, Fitzpatrick, Art Young and other well-known cartoonists.

Better Understanding Seminar

Under the auspices of the National Conference of Jews and Christians a Seminar on Human Relations was held in New York City, December 9, 1930. The purpose of the seminar was "To acquire a better understanding, more intelligent appreciation, and friendlier coöperation of cultural groups living creatively in a democracy." Among those who participated in the seminar were Professor W. H. Kilpatrick of Columbia, Dr. John Haynes Holmes of the New York Community Church, Professor Harry A. Overstreet of the College of the City of New York, Michael Williams, editor of *Commonweal,* a Catholic weekly, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary, Mr. Felix Warburg, and Mrs. Estelle M. Sternberger of the National Council of Jewish Women. A medal awarded annually by *The American Hebrew* for the promotion of better understanding between Christians and Jews was given to the Hon. Newton D. Baker for 1930.

Jesus' Significance in Our Modern Age

HARRY F. WARD

WHILE plenty of preachers and church members still do Jesus the injustice and bring him the discredit of assuming that Christianity is his religion, the informed know that it is a composite into which went first the theology of Paul, then some things from the mystery cults and philosophies of Greece, together with others from the hero worship and imperial organization of Rome. As this is understood it gives still another aspect to the choice now before the churches. Which will they decide to develop, traditional Christianity or the religion of Jesus? If they take his religion how will it affect the other choices that now confront them? What then will be their attitude toward the power and the glory of this world? Which aspect of religion will become central—theology, worship, or the improvement of life? . . .

THE recurrent resurrection of Jesus is one of the challenging facts of history. Over and over again church and state together crucify him and proclaim him dead; over and over again he reappears to challenge them to new ways. The nature of this vitality is apparent in the paradoxical fact that even when men use his name magically it is with ethical significance. When they say that the principles of Jesus can save civilization they recognize that the morality of the Sermon on the Mount is higher than that of organized society, and they are talking the language of an ethical not a theological or liturgical religion.

Similar testimony concerning the characteristic to which the religion of Jesus owes it vitality comes consistently from those outside the ranks of ecclesiastical Christianity. They are free from its prepossessions. To them the Christ of the churches does not speak, only the Jesus of the gospels, who thus becomes the Jesus of experience and history. The testimony of such men focusses on a certain point. When for instance Jefferson, the free-thinker, made his own Bible by putting together the ethical sayings of the gospels, when Lincoln said he would join the church that wrote over its doors the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, when Gandhi—heir of another tradition—declares that he owes his passion for bringing separated human beings into fellowship to the Sermon on the Mount as well as to his Hindu scriptures, it is the ethical element in the religion of Jesus that evokes the response. This is more than his teaching. The power that he manifested in attacking the baffling issues of life is transmitted.

Additional evidence of where the vitality of the religion of Jesus originates can be seen in the response he gets from two opposite quarters—the poor and the well-to-do. There is an important fact behind the overworked claim that when the revolting proletariat rejects the church it also shouts for Jesus. This is more true in England than elsewhere and there it is true only in part. But what truth there is in it means more than the fact that the oppressed find in him a champion of their rights, that his name historically stands for the release of those who are bound and sight to those who sit in darkness. It means that in him the universal righteousness and justice and good-will have become embodied in continuing fashion. When his name sounds a bigger and more imperious fellowship than clan or creed or class flashes across our vision, a goal that can never be reached by any imperialism no matter how benevolent, by any dictatorship no matter how well meaning.

When this is understood many who today shout for him like those of old Jerusalem will, like them, go with him no further. This is manifestly true now with most of the prosperous. In the end our rich young rulers find his demands impossible. Does not our middle-class democracy, which in its own glorification so freely uses his name as sanction, stand now in that position? In our educated comfort we middle-class Americans think mostly of our obligation to serve by giving. Jesus emphasized the obligation to serve by sharing. This calls democracy to fulfill itself in the distribution of economic power and the universalizing of cultural opportunity. But when it moves in this direction most of the well-to-do turn away from it and some of them invoke the sedition laws against those who make the proposals.

AS for the rulers of plutocracy, like the lords of empire, when once they sense the nature of the religion of Jesus, they usually proclaim him a menace—one who stirreth up the people. The bitter attack upon preachers for advocating reduction of armaments and outlawry of war, for opposing military training in high schools and colleges, for supporting international organization, identifies the vital element in the religion of Jesus. The same journals that attack the preachers who meddle with practical affairs commend as godly examples those who confine themselves to theological, exegetical, and liturgical exercises. A gospel that is merely simple, a worship that is beautiful but damned, can go on quite undisturbed by the principalities and powers of this world. But when theology raises ethical questions and beauty in worship stirs the wills of people to change their attitude toward their fellows and alter

the behavior of the world, then trouble begins for them. The opposition that he receives outside and inside the churches, the response that he secures beyond the ranks of his professed followers, alike reveal the fact that the vital and challenging characteristic of the religion of Jesus is its ethical nature. . . .

To say that the religion of Jesus is essentially ethical, however, is not to say that he was merely an ethical teacher. It is conceded that he did not leave a theological system or a church organization or a social-economic program. Neither did he leave a set of ethical maxims. He left principles rather than precepts, teaching rather than teachings. Precepts are to be followed, principles are to be applied and developed. That is why his words are dynamic; they put creative obligation upon us. That is why men usually misinterpret and misrepresent Jesus when they expound his teachings separately. It is then that they are most apt to use him to support their own theology or politics or economics. Because the record is so fragmentary and so far removed from the figure it portrays, because also it consists of different interpretations of him, separate sayings and incidents have to be weighed according to the probability of authenticity, then grouped topically, to discover what central principles run through them.

Then it appears that Jesus is life as well as truth. To treat him merely as an ethical teacher, to put him in the same category as the Sophists or the Stoics is to miss the significance of his life and death, and to fail to receive the power of them. It matters not whether this is done by radicals or reactionaries—the result is the same—Jesus is lost. If men want only ethical teaching, they had better take Aristotle—he makes less trouble. But if they try Jesus, whose teaching is not apprehended until it becomes power for living, they will discover how to change the world and thereby how truly to enjoy it. . . .

BECAUSE the religion of Jesus is the expression of a process, it points only a general direction for the organized life of humanity. Because this process is visible in some degree everywhere in the record of the race, because it runs back into the whole course of life before man appeared upon the planet, the religion of Jesus transcends time and place, and offers something for universal development. Such authority as it possesses then as a guide to the general course of life derives not from any words of Jesus nor any doctrines about him, but is rooted in his representative character. From this point of view the argument about his sinlessness, on both sides, is irrelevant. His worth is determined by what experience shows and may show is the need of man to follow that trend in his life story—beginning with the origin of species—which Jesus represents.

There is no doubt about the general direction in which this trend would carry our organized life. It moves ever toward the solidarity of the human race. Jesus trusts in the capacity of man, aided by the eternal spirit, to develop his need and desire for fellowship until it overcomes his tendency toward conflict and removes the resultant subordination of the weaker to the will and ends of the stronger. So do all who believe in social evolution. If there is such a thing at all it means that the trend toward solidarity becomes stronger than the trend toward conflict and separation. Manifestly the possibility of a world community appears and grows only as the tendency toward solidarity is consciously chosen and developed, as the ties of kinship develop into a common search for the ideal. This is precisely what the religion of Jesus does and requires. To the common people everywhere he stands for the brotherhood of man. What that is and may be is for those who come after him to discover. . . .

THE cataclysmic class conflict on a world scale is no mere dogma, nor is it inevitable. But it is only avoidable by changing the dominant principles in the organization of capitalistic industrialism. This is precisely what is required by the development of the religion of Jesus. It points men toward the reorganization of life continuously around goodwill instead of power, for the pursuit of ethical development not material satisfactions. It urges them on to solidarity and equality, toward a world community of persons. Surely this is no cheap and easy way of salvation. It can be realized only if modern man repents and changes his ways. Otherwise the cycle school of history is justified and man goes once again out into the desert.

But if now we can broaden into a highway that search for justice and fellowship which has been heretofore only the trail of a few, then modern man may acquire a sense of creative process in his affairs and in the universe in which he shares because he has so chosen. Then cultural evolution may become one with ethical and spiritual development instead of the separate, divergent, and conflicting things that they always are in a civilization built on power and animated by greed.

IT is this capacity of the religion of Jesus to urge life away from the evils that now mutilate and destroy it, and forward into some organic unity, combined with the fact that it not only leaves room for but depends upon the experimental method, that constitutes its challenge to the scientific spirit. If those who are actuated by that spirit take nothing but a negative or indifferent attitude toward the ethical struggle because of the manifest deficiencies of organized religion, then science will more and more be prostituted to Mammon and so be made the means for the destruction of civilization. In view of the way in which science is now being used and limited in the search for profit it is nothing but a rationalization for current writers to assume that big

business will develop its disinterestedness and make it the servant of society.

For the men of science as for the men of religion there is required a conscious choice of direction if either pursuit is to do anything other than make more certain the doom of mankind. To trust the money-makers to bring the good life to the world is just like trusting the medicine men—ancient or modern. There is no easy, indirect, or automatic salvation for man. Always there is the necessity for deseperate struggle and for sacrifice. The road to life is the road through death. If the disinterestedness of science is to continue vital in the sense in which it is necessary, namely as intellectual objectivity, it will have to take sides in the human struggle. Otherwise it becomes merely the servant of the makers of empire, the rulers of the world. In the moral realm disinterestedness, in the sense of the neutrality of an onlooker enjoying the satisfaction of his curiosity, is not an admirable attitude. It is for those who feel themselves to be of the scientific enlightenment to make their choice. Which side of life are they on—the possessive or the creative, the destructive or the vitalizing? Are they aiming to strengthen and develop man the exploiter and killer or man the coöperator and creator? Are they content that the race should fight like wolves for their food when it is scarce, or crowd their feet into the trough like hogs when it is abundant? Or do they desire life to become an intelligently controlled process for mutual development? Are they satisfied with the standardized conformity on the surface of life that the machine controlled by the money-makers is now producing? Or will they seek the underlying unity of a common aspiration and a common goal, to be mutually achieved in serving and sharing?

If the farther goal is theirs, then the question is whether there is power in the cosmos to stimulate and respond to man's moral effort as its physical energy answers to his need. Is the nature of the universe such that it can only respond to man's practical needs, can but aid him to achieve an instrumental unity on the surface of life which enables the disrupting forces underneath to work more effectively? At this point the religion of Jesus urges experimental development. For this purpose it makes available two sources of power, that which comes from the push of the movement in the life of man which it represents and that which belongs to the ideal it upholds. This capacity it shares with other social movements particularly with the idealistic forms of socialism.

IN addition, the religion of Jesus assumes that there is available moral power in the universe beyond the strivings of man and his desires. This assumption it shares with other religions. But Jesus puts it in personal terms. He trusts the goodness of the Heavenly Father as science trusts the intelligibility and orderliness of the universe. Also he differs from ecclesiastical religion in declaring the power of God to be available only on ethical terms and for ethical ends. He does not offer to deliver it. He tells men to seek and they shall find. Whether it is personally realizable is obviously a matter of experimental test. If there are those to whom that test yields nothing, it is not thereby proved that nothing is available, any more than the validity of the scientific method is discredited because there are some to whom it does not bring any revelation.

On the whole the test is yet to be made. It is not that Christianity has not been tried, it is that the religion of Jesus has not been developed. The new realization of its ethical values brought about by the scientific method in religion brings a day of judgment to the churches. When men write about the decline of religion, it is ecclesiastical religion they are talking about. The world is still full of religion of many kinds. The question is what kinds are to survive. If life continues to be organized as the struggle of the greedy for power, then whatever forms of religion continue will be either a sanction for the winners or solace for the losers. For a few the alternative may be a bleak trust in cosmic intelligence. But this again is powerless to do more than help man endure a disintegrating social order and the tragic mystery of life.

The chief value of the religion of Jesus, now and always, is that it challenges man to develop his religion in and by changing his life. It does not ask him merely to repeat the experience of the past, not even that of Jesus, but to learn from it and then to enlarge it in the direction of more abundant living for all. It does not ask him to submit to any authority except that of experience and ideals. It does not say that Jesus' view of God or man is final or complete. It does not want him to use or respect the name of Jesus on any other ground than what he represents in human life and brings to it. Obviously his ethical values need to be tested and developed by the methodology of science. But his religion does supply the qualities in which science is deficient. Together they could keep modern man from rewriting the disastrous story of the ages.—(*This article is taken from a volume by Professor Ward soon to be published by the Macmillan Company under the title, "Which Way Religion."*)

To a Telephone Wire

THIS wire that sets with instant speed
Our speech to distance like a spear,
(From the dark flower in which you speak
To the dark shell pressed against my ear)—
Transforms our thoughts to substances
More beautiful than words alone,
That else would strike in nerveless air
As dumb and transient as a stone.

MARSHALL SCHACHT

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

Wisdom in the House

If the Army and Navy had their way the people of the United States would be called upon to pay not less than $3,000,000,000 a year for their maintenance.—*Representative Madden, Congressional Record, Feb. 24, 1927, p. 4697.*

Biblical Exegesis in the House

Congressman Kvale: If Jesus of Nazareth were here today, how does the gentleman think he would vote? Would He be for or against this bill ($274,000,000 for new cruisers)?

Congressman Updike: He would be for the bill, because He would be for the defense of the country.—*Congressional Record,* March 16, 1928, *p. 4893.*

Expensive

Our own Civil War cost at least 15 billion dollars if we include pensions, many of which are still being paid, and Mr. Judson C. Welliver's additional estimate of the cost of the World War to the United States, including pensions and interest on war debt, arrives at the staggering figure of 116 billion dollars. These two wars alone then, have cost America 131 billion dollars. Nationalism has a greedy appetite.—*Alfred W. Hall-Quest, It's Not Our Fault, p. 189.*

Old and Young

The current attitude of the American people toward love and sex is an amusing confusion of inconsistencies and hypocrisy. On the one hand, there is the still strongly entrenched Puritanism hurling its anathemas at any frank discussion of these themes; on the other, we observe on almost every side a bewildering nonchalance toward matters that only a few years ago were whispered and blushed over. The younger generation vies with middle age in its zeal for picking forbidden fruit, a zeal eager for sophistication and individualism.—*Alfred W. Hall-Quest, It's Not Our Fault, p. 239.*

Just As Certainly As

Careful planning, shorter hours, more complete facts, public works and a dozen other palliatives will in the future reduce unemployment especially in times of industrial depression; but all of these put together will not eliminate unemployment. . . . Something new in the way of a revolutionizing invention may come again in the next generation. Some of these great changes have been predictable; others have been unpredictable. Against them it seems to me that some form of insurance seems to be the only answer. Unemployment insurance we shall come to in this country just as certainly as we have come to workmen's compensation for industrial injury, just as certainly as we are today in the midst of a national wave of insuring against old age want. Ninety per cent of unemployment is wholly without the fault of the worker. Other nations and other governments have undertaken various systems which insure their workers when unemployment comes. Why should we, in the 48 States of our Union, fear to undertake the task?—*Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt at the 1930 Annual Conference of Governors.*

Prophecy in 1893

It seems, therefore, possible to hope that war, terrible and to some extent pitiless as it must always be, may come to be conductd without international injury to non-combatants, and with the smallest possible damage to private property.—*Charles H. Pearson, National Life and Character, p. 148.*

Senatorial Wisdom

The Senator will find that if he is to allow the officers of the Navy to prescribe the size of the Navy, and the officers of the Army to prescribe the size of the Army, he will have burdens upon the taxpayer of this country of which he has not dreamed.—*Senator Willis, Congressional Record, Jan. 29, 1927, p. 2531.*

Is This Sensible?

In 1890, the appropriation for the Army was $36,500,000, while for the fiscal year of 1931, we appropriated over $351,000,000. In 1890, the appropriation for the Navy was $21,000,000, and for 1930, it is over $380,000,000. In 1885 the appropriations for all the activities of the Government amounted to $306,000,000. We have appropriated for the fiscal year for the Army alone more than this sum and also more than this sum for the Navy.—*The United States Daily, July 18, 1930.*

No Delusion Then

If we are to recover the vitality and rapture of the New Testament experience, we must recover the New Testament fight . . . The Christian fellowship was locked in deadly conflict with the great exploiting power of its time, that cruel, well-nigh omnipotent power which devoured and mangled the lives of men. The Christians were never deluded into thinking that they could make an easy compromise with such an evil power. They did not compliment it. They heaped upon it the ugliest and most shameful names of human speech. They did not attempt to shake hands with it in a hail-fellow-well-met jocular manner. That came later in the days of Constantine, and then the glory departed and the church accepted the manacles of slavery.—*Halford E. Luccock, Jesus and the American Mind, pp. 190-191.*

The First To Lay Down Arms

In a pamphlet published by the Teachers' Union this teacher, a Mr. Simonet, describes his own really happy experiences as he served the required term in the army and places his desire for disarmament on the following grounds: "If we could say to the world, 'We Swiss, recognizing that the time of wars is past and that war is a plague that threatens to annihilate our world, wish to be the first people to lay down arms voluntarily and to place ourselves under the protection of God and the law; we appeal to the honor of our neighbors that they respect our frontiers and we vow to use our strength to work for the brotherhood of all nations,'—then we would be better protected than by tanks and airplanes. Switzerland, thanks to the splendid nature of this action, would shine with an eternal beauty, and the place where we live. . . . would become a sanctuary for humanity."—*Daniel Alfred Prescott, Education and International Relations, p. 75.*

Property and the Ethical Life

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE more one analyzes the attitudes and conceptions, the prejudices and assumptions of good people in the world of education and religion who imagine they are creating a new and better world through intellectual discipline and religious inspiration, the more one is forced to the conclusion that both the modern school and the modern church are failing to deal realistically with the ethical problems of modern man because they fail to come to grips with the problem of property rights. Both institutions assume that it is possible to make men more social and more ethical by increasing their sympathies, by enlarging their sense of moral obligation to their fellowmen, and by developing moral and rational checks upon each individual's expansive desires. But all this ethical idealism is spent within terms of the present system of society, which is taken for granted. And the important fact in modern society is that significant power derives from the ownership of property. Through ownership of property some men achieve more political power than others and practically dictate the policies of state in defiance of the alleged principles of democracy. What is more important, by the ownership of property men exercise power over their fellowmen in the industrial world with an irresponsibility which the kings of antiquity hardly achieved. The children of fathers who fought for the principle that there shall be no taxation without representation are forced to accept the fixation of wage rates without representation; and so thoroughly is this power of ownership established that in the American world millions of workers do not challenge it.

The fact that the almost unlimited power of property is taken for granted qualifies every moral and social program. Good people concern themselves with the plight of the unemployed, but nothing is done to challenge the rights of possession of those who heaped up riches in the legerdemain of the stock market. Good men who possess great economic power bestir themselves to be philanthropic, but the fact that the very possession of their unequal power must inevitably lead to new inequalities of privilege does not occur to them and everything they do therefore falls short of social justice. They are exactly in the same position as the feudal lords of the Middle Ages who were, on occasion, kind to their serfs but who would have regarded a challenge of their authority as an act of impiety. Kind-hearted individuals in the professions and in the middle classes busy themselves with all kinds of reform calculated to improve the social order, but most of their reform is concerned with incidental and unimportant limitations of our contemporary society.

Against the background of all this social aspiration and reform, the *right* of private property remains practically unqualified in spite of the fact that it becomes less and less private as its possession gives the owner ever increasing power over the lives and fortunes of other men. The development of these unqualified rights is an interesting bit of history. Property rights in their original form were derived from and rested upon human rights. As the early hunting peoples, who were invariably communistic, turned to agriculture, it was natural that they should try to encourage diligence by giving men security in the possession of the fruits of their labor. Once established, however, property rights were invariably used for the oppression of the weak by the strong. Rich landowners appropriated the right inhering in the possession of the soil to dominate the state and used the state to enlarge their possessions and enslave their tenants. Both Greece and Rome made efforts, largely ineffectual, to check the growing power of the landowner. The reforms of Solon, Lycurgus, and the Gracchi brothers were abortive and represent a historical record of the difficulty of checking power, once it is full blown.

EACH new development in civilization has served to separate property rights more fully from human rights and make them ends in themselves. The development of money, the elaboration of credit technique (many a peasant lost his land through mortgaging it), the development of limited liability companies, and finally the invention of the machine have all tended to divorce the human from the economic factor in commercial and industrial relationships and to obscure the fact that property rights are justified only as they serve human well being. Part of this development is due to the fact that the strong, once in the possession of rights, have the power to make them more absolute. Part of the development is due to a psychological difficulty inherent in human society. The more intricate our commercial and industrial relations become the more difficult are the discernment and appreciation of human factors entering into the relationship, and the more do both individuals and society tend to elaborate economic technique as an end in itself regardless of the social values involved.

Some human ends must, of course, be served. Any system which does not produce goods for human consumption will be quickly destroyed. But as long as goods are produced and starvation is avoided, unimaginative human beings will suffer almost any kind of

misery before they challenge assumptions and presuppositions which have their own psychological and social history but which seem, from the perspective of an unhistorical man, to be absolute laws of existence.

THUS throughout the course of history property rights have become more and more absolute. To be sure, urgent necessity does create certain qualifications. The right of taxation by the state is one of them; but the state is permitted to take only a portion of the income. A "capital levy" as proposed by the British Labour Party some years ago is put in the category of a terrible heresy. The right of testation is slightly circumscribed by the state, but it still remains much more absolute than it was in early society. You may not completely disinherit your own family, at least not your partner in marriage, but you may nevertheless determine how your property is to be used not only by your children but by your children's children. The state may exercise the right of eminent domain when it wants to build a road, but it can not do so for the purposes of initiating a housing scheme for the poor. In the latter case it is forced to bargain with you and accept your price.

That unqualified rights of property are finally developed to the point of absurdity in our kind of civilization is apparent when a broker engages, let us say, in short-selling operations on the stock market, a proceeding which can be negotiated by orders over the phone and which results in no useful gain to society but may result in the amassing of great wealth on the part of the individual. Such wealth, once acquired, may be put into stocks or real estate or any other kind of property, and the whole power and prestige of the state is used to protect the owner in its possession against every designing "thief."

THE simple fact is that the absolute character of property rights is becoming daily more of an anachronism in our world. Every commercial and industrial process is a social one in which vast numbers of individuals are engaged. The more stable industrialism becomes the more does the success of each process depend not upon private initiative but upon technological achievements and marketing possibilities which the whole of society has created. The power exercised by the owner who had the original inspiration or gave the original initiative becomes therefore constantly less related to useful function. Even in the pioneer days of the automobile industry it was not altogether logical that a good engineer like Mr. Ford should by virtue of his engineering ability become the arbiter of the destiny of one hundred thousand workingmen. But the whole scheme will appear even less logical when his grandchildren control his vast properties and, in all likelihood, turn their management over to hired attorneys and engineers. So long as ownership is identified with useful social function, it seems to deserve social recognition even if its power is more absolute than necessary. But as ownership and function become increasingly divorced, the whole system looses whatever integrity it possessed and is maintained only because an unimaginative society lacks the intelligence to adjust its machinery to its new situations.

The question we face today is whether we can develop this intelligence quickly enough to readjust our social concepts and machinery to a changed environment, or whether we will permit rights and powers which have lost their usefulness to fret the life and complicate the problems of new generations until blind resentment destroys what intelligence was unable to restrict and circumscribe. If history is any guide, including recent Russian history, such resentment inevitably destroys more than reason would allow. There are always values in a society, whatever its limitations, which an intelligent community would conserve if it could work at its problem with a measure of leisure and a degree of passionless objectivity.

There is, of course, the opposite danger that a society which is not driven by urgent need will not deal rigorously with its problem. This is the danger confronting all parliamentary and evolutionary socialism which is in constant peril of letting its waters run into the sand of mere liberal reform. But the problems of modern society are certainly sufficiently urgent to obviate this danger if we can cultivate enough moral sensitivity and social intelligence to realize the total facts and problems of our common life.

IF property rights cannot be brought completely under the control of modern society and allowed to exist only as they serve human well being and social peace and justice, we may be sure that the disinherited, in whom bitter need is bound to generate more passion than circumspection, will make short shrift of the whole of our civilization. This alternative does not yet confront us in America, and it may not for decades to come. Nevertheless, it is an immediate problem in such nations as Germany where everything that goes by the name of western civilization and culture may be inundated in the coming months.

If those portions of the community which regard themselves as morally sensitive and socially intelligent persist in dealing with our present problem only upon the assumption that basic rights as they now exist shall not be destroyed or thoroughly readjusted, they merely play into the hands of all determinists who sneer at the efforts of society to solve its problem by moral insight and intelligence. The determinists may be right. We have not yet proved them wrong. Men of great power will never divest themselves of their privileges in large numbers, no matter how intelligent they are. It is too

sy to use intelligence for the purpose of rationalizing ur desires and advantages. But men of great power e comparatively few. Many of us are fairly disinested observers. That is particularly true of a nation largely middle class as ours is. And such institutions the schools and churches have considerable influence ong these middle classes. Consequently, they have e opportunity of helping men to realize in which rection the logic of modern civilization is driving us. They could, if they had the courage and the insight, develop an ethical view of life which did not stop short at the reorganization of society. All ethical pretensions which do stop short of that goal will prove themselves vain in the end. It is the chronic weakness of our conventional "idealism" that it fails to deal realistically with basic prejudices and assumptions. If this weakness cannot be cured, the future of modern society will be determined by conflict and not by adjustment.

Prophet of Israel

The Story of Judah L. Magnes

N September 1894 Judah Magnes walked into my college boarding-house in Cincinnati, introduced himself to our little coterie, and announced that e came from Oakland, California, to pursue the ourse of study which would qualify him to become a abbi in Israel. He was a welcome recruit for, in ddition to the ordinary and generally accepted qualiications for a rabbinical career, Magnes came with a eputation as a crack baseball pitcher on his high chool team. He looked the part—tall and of athletic uild. His winning smile soon endeared him to all f us and before long he became the leader of our ollege world.

The only incident in his university days which ffered some forecast of the Magnes of the future ccurred in his senior year when he was editor of the ollege annual. A stupid dean attempted to impose censorship on the material which was to go into this enior publication. Magnes resigned without hesitaion and invited the faculty to edit the book. The tudent body backed him up whole-heartedly and, as result of the rumpus which ensued, the so-called niversity won a president who began his tenure of ffice by dismissing the senescent faculty. From that lay, the University of Cincinnati began to be a real nstitution of learning.

Did Magnes dream that one day would find him at he head of a great university? In 1898 he received his A. B. degree when he was twenty-one years old. His rabbinical course of study at the Hebrew Union College kept him in Cincinnati until 1900 when he received the degree of Rabbi and Teacher. He was the valedictorian of his class.

Magnes was an earnest student of Bible and Talmud, Jewish theology and philosophy. Scholarship for itself, however, did not interest him. The theological foundation for a system of American Judaism which would lead to ultimate assimilation failed to attract or excite him. Judaism as an ethical or sociological program held no fascination for him. He was interested in the living Jew. Before he could quite realize it in his own mind, he was already a Zionist.

During our undergraduate days Masliansky, the great popular orator, came to Cincinnati, addressed a large assembly of Russo-Polish Jews in the Yiddish vernacular and the student body at Hebrew Union College in the classical Hebrew of the Prophets. For Magnes, as for many of us, it was an exciting experience. Yiddish was lifted out of its lowly and degraded position of linguistic inferiority. The net result was that Magnes flung himself into the study of Yiddish without which he felt it was impossible to understand the Jewish soul. At the same time he began to devour modern Hebrew literature on subjects not necessarily concerned with religion or theology.

FORTUNATELY, upon graduation and ordination, Magnes was not forced to accept a pulpit but was able to go to Germany to pursue graduate work. He took his studies both at Berlin and Heidelberg with a seriousness that earned him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the latter university. He did more than study philosophy and Semitics, however. Types and individuals hitherto unknown to this young Californian in his own home and in the provincial, Ohio city revealed themselves to him daily and enriched his knowledge of human beings and their reactions. Wherever he found himself, in the classroom, at the opera, in the theatre, he studied his fellow men and added to his store of that kind of knowledge which prepared him for his career of leadership.

The European Jew was a revelation to him. The Jewish youth, especially, appeared to him as more vital and purposeful than his brother in America. Among the students he discovered two distinct groups with sharply drawn, antagonistic programs—the one, frankly assimilationist, the other militantly national. Here was a clean line of cleavage without any sign of compromise. How different from conditions prevalent in American Jewry where one section was indeed drifting toward assimilation, but without any conscious

program beyond some empty pulpit phraseology, and where the party still loyal to Jewish ideals was pitifully inarticulate and ineffective.

Magnes found himself spiritually at home with the loyalist group. He developed a passionate desire to know everything about the Jews, and to satisfy that longing he arranged to spend his vacation in the company of a fellow student on a tour of the Jewish towns and villages of Galician and Russian Poland. In one of his letters to the writer, Magnes explained the purpose of the journey. "I lay great hopes in this trip. I believe that I shall benefit from it vastly more than a trip through the Schweiz or into the art galleries and historical centres of Germany. We intend giving all our energies to work with Jews. How can we get the best result if we do not know our Jews?"

Certainly this adventure intensified his feelings. He emerged from the East European ghettos completely re-orientated. Magnes could not find spiritual satisfaction in mere Jewish nationalism of the political and secular kind. For him, Jewish nationality and culture rooted in Judaism as a spiritual attitude toward life, as a religious message and a daily discipline. No doubt the zeal and genuineness of the Hassidic mystics whose lives he had studied in their native villages contributed to his conversion to a rigorous orthodoxy. He had seen and he had lived the real thing and the teachings he had heard eloquently expounded in Cincinnati that Israel's mission was to play the prophet in every land to a hostile and unsympathetic world became empty platitudes. Only by living his own cultural and religious life could the Jew hope to contribute anything worth while to the general human culture and civilization. Zionism became Magnes' creed, but it was a Zionism that had as much to do with the ideals of the Prophets and the wisdom of the sages as with statecraft and a legally guaranteed Jewish homeland in Palestine.

WITH this kind of spiritual equipment Magnes returned to America. To accept a pulpit in one of the less important reform Jewish congregations then available was out of the question. As a temporary stop-gap he became an instructor in the very institution which had given him his rabbinical training. A year of this work convinced him that he did not belong. He had too many things to say and he required a platform from which he could expound his views. To be sure, he found himself among the Zionists and very soon became their gifted orator. But the Zionists counted for little in American Jewish life and his audiences were among the despised visionaries and dreamers.

It happened that just at this time one of his classmates and close friends was about to give up the ministry after a two years' trial in order to return his Virginia home and prepare himself for a career law. Through his influence Magnes succeeded him rabbi of a fashionable Brooklyn reform temp Here he enjoyed the luxury of living his personal l according to the strict tenets of orthodox Judais while preaching national Judaism to a congregati which most likely had no inkling of what it was about. But one thing they did understand—that th erstwhile empty pews were being filled by strange m and women, not of their social set, and suspiciou of East European origin.

It was too true. The Williamsburg and Brow ville ghettoes constituted the major portion of t audiences to whom Magnes preached. This the c gregation was quick to understand and it gave th no satisfaction. East European Jews are all rig they may have argued, for are not all Israel brethre Nevertheless, they preferred that these ghetto Je keep their distance and be satisfied with a less dir contact with their more "cultured" co-religionists German origin. Let them accept charity and inst tions for their rapid transformation into America but let them stay in their own synagogues. No n to invade these costly temples in which Jews w already boasting of an emancipation and a liberal which would in due time transform them into n Unitarians. In short, the congregation regarded th rabbi's audiences as more disquieting than his c trines.

In addition to his rabbinical duties Magnes th himself into organization and propaganda work secretary of the Federation of American Zionists. his office, situated in the heart of New York's E Side, he became more than a Zionist leader. To neighbors he was a veritable prophet, oracle, s and deliverer. Every day his office was filled wit motley crowd of petitioners who sought advice material help for every kind of personal problem, brought him schemes for the deliverance of Israel for the salvation of mankind. His name became known to the thousands of Jews who read the Yid newspapers. His Brooklyn congregants, howe were not among these readers and they might h remained blissfully unaware for all time that gifted rabbi, who charmed them every Sabbath his forceful personality and pulpit style, was lea a double life.

The Kishineff pogroms and the other atte on the part of Czarist Russia to solve the Je problem by killing off those Jews who would not e the Holy Russian Church or emigrate provided climax in the relationship between the young r and his congregation. Magnes now became fighter as well as the orator. Isaiah became J Maccabee. In New York and in many other Je

...ters he succeeded in raising large sums of money ... the purpose of providing the Russian Jewish self-...fense organizations with arms and ammunition in ...der to defend themselves against future attacks. ... organized and personally led a parade of Jews up ...oadway and Fifth Avenue in funeral procession as ... demonstration of sorrow and indignation. The ...lls of Grace Church tolled forth their sympathetic ...tes, a noble gesture of Christian sympathy for ...icken Israel. Magnes addressed dozens of meet-...g in large and small halls and on street corners ...hen no other place was available. He brought the ...use of Israel before the American public, and his ...me began to figure prominently in the columns of ...ew York's dailies.

SELF-SOUGHT publicity was never in Magnes' mind. No one ever doubted his sincerity. With ...im, the idea was always uppermost. Far from seek-...g fame or position, he proved on more than one ...ccasion that he was ready to sacrifice himself and ...is material well-being. The cause of Israel which ...hrust him into the limelight made his career as rabbi ... troublesome one. His congregation did not mind ...is Zionist theories. They did resent his activities. ...He had become an agitator, and in the bourgeois mind ...ny agitation is immediately classed with socialism, ...narchy, and nihilism. Indeed, if bolshevism had ...existed at the time it would have been included. By ...he latter label he was to be stigmatized some ten ...years later. There was unrest in the Brooklyn con-...gregation. He was given orders to behave and to ...confine himself to his pulpit. Magnes resigned. His ...friends rallied in his behalf, and the resignation was ...withdrawn.

However, the very activities which irritated his congregation served to make Magnes rabbi of the largest and most influential congregation in America—Emanu-El of New York City. The late Louis Marshall happened to attend one of the mass meetings addressed by Magnes. The level-headed lawyer was attracted by the gifted young orator, although he could hardly have agreed with the doctrine that was expounded. There followed a period of negotiations during which Magnes was by no means overly enthusiastic. His own heart must have warned him that the proposed alliance could not, under the circumstances, last very long. Some of his friends and admirers, notably the late Professor Solomon Schachter, pointed out to him that it was his duty to accept. Their argument ran something like this: True, you won't succeed in bringing these Jews back to rigid orthodoxy, nor will you convince them of your Zionist fantasies, but you may help to delay their ultimate and complete assimilation for a generation or so.

MAGNES graced Emanu-El's pulpit as no rabbi of that great temple did before or has done since. A few big-minded men appreciated him then as they do now. But to the majority of the members he spoke a strange language and again, as in Brooklyn, he attracted an even stranger following. Magnes' interests were with the Jewish masses, with the proletarian Jew. Judaism could not live without them, nor would Zion be re-peopled by millionaires. Magnes could not and would not preach polite sermons in sonorous phraseology. He did not essay pulpit book reviews, dramatic criticism, and the usual drivel of the popular preachers. He accepted the reform dictum that Judaism was Prophetism, and he turned the texts of the prophets of Israel into sermons which dealt with the social and economic injustice of the day, with the grim poverty of the masses, with the hopelessness of their lot, with the real mission of Israel which was not only to proclaim peace but which was to combat the forces of hatred and strife. The real Magnes emerged, an enigma to his congregants. Admired and even loved for his sincerity and his personality, he was feared for his dead earnest way of blurting out unwelcome facts and for what was

From an etching by Bernard Sanders

JUDAH L. MAGNES

implied in the whole scheme of his thought and words. The crisis and ultimate severance of relations came about over a set of concrete recommendations for a change in ritual and liturgical procedure which Magnes submitted to his congregation. The trustees of Emanu-El rejected them *in toto,* whereupon Magnes resigned.

AT this stage of his career, it is felt by many that Magnes missed his great opportunity. Hundreds and even thousands were ready to follow him into an independent religious movement based on Jewish nationalism and the high humanitarian ideals of the Prophets. Had he led a movement of this kind, there is no doubt that he would have given American Judaism new direction and purpose. Perhaps he was too tired and disheartened to attempt any further efforts to save the assimilationists for Judaism.

Thinking that the avowedly traditional Jews offered a more likely field for his activities, he became the spiritual leader of the oldest orthodox Jewish congregation in New York. There he suffered an even greater disillusionment. Smug, self-satisfied orthodoxy was no whit better than the reform brand and was equally convinced that America was the Jewish Palestine and that the word of God might come from the rabbi but must first be sanctioned by the board of directors. He was through with congregations for all time.

The next few years found Magnes organizing the Jews of New York on a secular community basis through the Kehillah of which he became the head. Into this Kehillah he brought together all the diverse Jewish groups, temples, synagogues, schools, lodges, labor unions, social clubs, and Zionist societies. Their failure to agree on a common and broad Jewish platform was responsible for the breakdown of the Kehillah after a few years of stormy existence. The net benefit which Magnes left the Jews of New York was the beginning of a standardized and modernized system of religious education for Jewish youth. He was also helpful to large bodies of Jewish workingmen and to their employers by introducing and popularizing arbitration in the frequent labor disputes prevalent in the Jewish trades.

THE World War lifted Magnes out of the restricted sphere of Jewish life and produced a valiant champion of human rights, a foe of reaction, hysterical nationalism, blood lust and world madness. Superficially, he ceased to be a Jew and became a citizen of the world. Actually he was never more Jewish. For, in espousing the unpopular cause of peace, in exposing the hypocrisies of chauvinism, in his plea for national sanity at a time when to be sane was to be suspect, Magnes spoke with the voice of the Jewish Prophets. In all of his speeches he interpreted the real Jew and preached the message of Zion to the peoples of the world. He suffered together with the fearless and brave men and women of the w period. The Department of Justice paid its co pliments by covering him with its agents, watchi for the damning phrase. Rumors of his impendi arrest were rife more than once. He shared hono with the outstanding liberal minds in America on t lists of the proscribed issued by the patriotic societi He was called pro-German, pacifist, and bolshevist turn. The safe and sane among the Jews grumbl and openly fulminated against this *enfant terrib* as a trouble maker who was compromising the goo name of the Jew and casting doubt upon Jewish lo alty. Many shook their heads and said it was too b this brilliant man's career ended in disgrace.

The war, however, provided Israel with the une pected boon of Palestine as a restored homeland ar incidentally afforded Magnes the opportunity of r alizing himself fully in this old-new land. Chara teristically, the first institution which the Jew planne and perfected was the Hebrew University in Jerusale on Mount Scopus, and immediately after the w Magnes withdrew to Palestine. The American spo sors of the university were in the main Magne friends who believed in him, and whose loyalty r mained unshaken even when in their hearts they cou not follow and approve his reasoning and his publ utterances. They gave evidence of their confiden in his integrity and ability by entrusting to him t work of organizing the new university. When th seat of learning was dedicated by Balfour in Apr 1924, Magnes became its chancellor.

Far from being buried in the university and thus b ing rendered harmless as some fondly hoped wou happen, his influence has grown increasingly. Just year ago he came in for well-nigh universal abuse b cause he counseled peace with the Arabs as against d pendence on British imperial force or interferen from any government, be it Conservative, Liberal Labour. In view of the occurrences of the past fe months, even this stand must now be viewed as bot prophetic and sound. Magnes, the Jew, can nev forget that he is also the humanitarian, that the Go of Isaiah is the God of mankind.

A recent visitor to the Near East who has alwa regarded Magnes' views on social questions, on n tional and international problems, on war and treati as dangerous and unsound to say the least, reporte upon his return to this country that Palestine has a ready produced two great Jews—Pinchas Ruttenber the engineer, and Judah L. Magnes of the Hebre University. He added that if Palestine possesse twenty such men, neither England nor the Arabs coul prevent Israel from realizing its aspirations in the lan of its fathers.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Six Million People Want Work

Some Folks Won't Work. By Clinch Calkins. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.50.

THIS is one book that deserves the description "a human document." There are hungry people here and tired men standing in bread lines and wives at home trying to smile. Miss Calkins has told the story of the unemployed workers as that story was disclosed to the agents of the National Federation of Settlements in a nation-wide survey. She has not burdened the narrative with statistics but she has sandwiched in enough thoughtful generalizations between personal narratives to make her study more than a case record. Her book should be called Six Million People Want Work and Can't Get It.

The appalling thing about unemployment is that so few comfortable people get behind the abstraction to the pain and degradation of the human beings who are out of work. For at least five years the present crisis has been coming upon us gradually, but the Hoovers and the Jimmie Davises have been content to disguise the situation in statistical camouflage for their own political ends. Now they are reaping the whirlwind, and they deserve every little cyclone that they get.

One by one the comfortable fictions that have been used to belittle the horror of American unemployment are dissolving. The first fiction that the number of unemployed is actually small dissolved soon after the Wall Street crash. The second fiction that most of the unemployed are unemployable is exploded by the account of this survey which reveals a whole population of eager, energetic workers ready to do almost anything under the sun for outrageously low wages, yet unable to earn the price of a meal. The third fiction that the machine technique is creating new jobs for those whom it displaces seems also to be shattered. The only fiction that remains, and that is the basic one, is that industry operated by one class for private profit can forsake its own motives sufficiently to give labor security. I think Miss Calkins has abandoned that fiction, but I wish that she had pointed out more clearly the limitations of employers' philanthropy.

There is something sardonic in the fact that the bitterest poverty, described in this survey in a concluding chapter by Miss Helen Hall, is in the capital of the machine age, Detroit. The hands of Detroit workers have rebuilt our mechanical civilization but other hands have gathered in the surplus. Certainly the plight of Detroit is the best proof that any theorist could want of the thesis that unemployment is fundamentally caused by a mal-distribution of wealth. Detroit is now a city of paupers precisely because it is also a city of millionaires. The riches and irresponsibility of one class explain the poverty and dependence of the other.

Miss Calkins suggests the social creed which she hopes may result from this survey by quoting Louis D. Brandeis on the right to work: "For every employee who is steady in his work, there shall be steady work. The right to regularity in employment is co-equal with the right to regularity in the payment of rent, in the payment of interest on bonds, in the delivery to the customers of the high quality of products contracted for. . . . The reserve to insure regularity of employment is as imperative as the reserve for depreciation; and it is equally a part of the fixed charges to make the annual contribution to that reserve. No business is socially solvent which cannot do so."

PAUL BLANSHARD

What to Do About Crime

Criminal Justice in America. By Roscoe Pound. Henry Holt & Co. $2.00.

The Story of Punishment. By Harry Elmer Barnes. The Stratford Company. $3.00.

WHEREVER two or three Americans are gathered together these days, one will hear a discussion of crime and criminals. The remedy usually proposed is more arrests, more convictions, severer punishments. But what human activities should be considered criminal, what causes men and women to do those things which are made criminal and the effect on both the individual and society of the various methods of punishment adopted by the state are seldom touched upon.

"It is the province of criminal law," according to Professor Pound, "to secure social interests regarded directly as such. . . . It must safeguard the general security and the individual life against abuse of criminal procedure. . . . It must devise effective enforcing agencies, both punitive and preventive, while at the same time giving due effect to the interest in the individual life."

There is the problem in a nut-shell. What conduct shall the state punish as criminal? How far may the state properly go in declaring the conduct of an individual unlawful and punishable, without interfering with proper and normal activities of the individual life? And how may we make criminal procedure effective and still "safeguard the general security and the individual life against the abuse of criminal procedure?"

These questions, which seldom occur to legislators, prosecutors, or judges are discussed interestingly and intelligently by Professor Pound. He notes the complexity of our civilization which necessarily brings men into closer and more frequent contact with each other, resulting in a multiplication of laws to control their conduct, the necessity of experiment with new machinery of criminal justice and the strain upon the old; our inheritance of a system of laws and procedure from England, "made from the materials of English criminal law and procedure of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Tradition yields slowly to new needs. The social scientists have learned much about the causes of human behavior and the methods of control, but the law lags behind.

The Story of Punishment by Harry Elmer Barnes is likely to be much more widely read than Professor Pound's book because of its more popular style. Mr. Barnes does not deal with the details of court procedure. He traces briefly the methods of ascertaining guilt from the days of trial by battle, ordeal and compurgation, the practice of torture as employed in the early modern period, down to the third-degree method of the police of

today. But he is concerned chiefly with the kinds and methods of punishment by which society has sought to satisfy its vengeance and incidently prevent the commission of crime. In tribal society it was a religious duty of the clan to "avenge summarily any wrong to its members." If the offender belonged to another clan, he or a member of his clan must be made to suffer the same kind of injury he had inflicted—"an eye for an eye." If the offender was a member of the clan, he was frequently exiled—a most serious punishment. As society became more highly organized, the sovereign took over the duty of suppressing disorder and punishing those acts which were deemed an offense against the community.

The examples given by Mr. Barnes of the severity and brutality of flogging, make painful reading. The stocks and the pillory, confinement in chains, and the ducking-stool were among the other popular punitive measures. Our modern method of punishment by confinement in prisons is considered at some length by the author. He gives us a comprehensive picture of the origin and development of the two principal systems of treatment of prisoners as developed in the Pennsylvania state penitentiary and the Auburn penitentiary in New York, as well as the effect of this treatment on the prisoners and on the public mind.

On the whole, Mr. Barnes is optimistic. He feels that penology is making progress and that by the use of psychiatry as an aid to our courts, the development of differentiation in institutions for the treatment of the criminal classes, and the probation and parole of convicted persons we may find a really effective way of dealing with those whom society denominates criminals.

WILLIAM H. HOLLY

The Crucifixion Drama

Firehead. By Lola Ridge. Payson and Clarke. $2.50.

IN *Firehead,* Lola Ridge shows us the experience, as she conceives it, of diverse characters between dawn and dawn of the day of the Crucifixion: Jesus, John, the Magdalen, the Mother, Judas, Peter, and certain others. One's mind instinctively travels back to all the poetry and art inspired by the great story—from the paintings of Italy to the grandeur, never to be superseded, of ancient liturgies. That such comparisons occur is a tribute to the quality of this book. Here is authentic poetry, though it is often poetry in travail—poetry which has not quite come to the birth. The effect is marred by a sense of tremendous strain—by far-fetched metaphors obscurely interwoven, by the coinage of strange words (agonhead, blowth, desitude), by gasping incoherencies.

But one hastens to have done with strictures, for the verse has undoubted power. Sometimes, as toward the end of the sections on Peter and Judas, passion has burnt the poetry to august simplicity. More than once we find fresh insight. The Mother and the Magdalen watch by the tomb; and the isolation of those two women, each conscious of distaste for the other, adds a dreary but painfully natural touch to their fellowship in bereavement. Mary the Mother, confessing that she has never been able to love her son as such a son should be loved, is not the Mary of the Magnificat. But is there no Gospel warrant for her? She is more successfully conceived, in her present dignity, than Magdalen, who, except for her frank lack of penitence for her past, is treated on conventional lines. The figure of John, too, is on conventional lines. Peter is more original—Peter, meant for a political leader but, crushed to earth in anguish, knows with bitter irony that he is The Rock on which shall be built the Church; Peter, whose tortured broodings end on the motif of the Seven Hills of Ro... Judas is the most striking of all—the jealous brooding soul, sma... ing with his loneliness among the apostles, and shown in pite... reversion to Paganism and the great earth mother.

It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to this arrest... book. One last question: Is the confused effect due wholly to ... labored and spasmodic style or to the absence of central illumi... tion? Miss Ridge is a realist, not a mystic; her book moves ... human levels with no invasion from planes unseen. Her Ch... evades us. The earthquake and the darkness are superbly r... dered, but the figure on the cross is dim. We recognize ... compelling power, we overhear the dangerous message of broth... hood; but Jesus' more essential revelation of love transcend... humanity we nowhere find. To this reviewer the attempt at the ... of the poem to suggest the motif of the Resurrection does ... ring true.

VIDA D. SCUDDER

The New Federalism

Humanism and America. Edited by Norman Foerster. Far... and Rinehart. $3.50.

The Critique of Humanism. Edited by C. Hartley Gratt... Brewer and Warren. $3.50.

IT has been rightly said that we have become "decade conscio... in our intellectual movements. During the past six month... has been the favorite pastime of writers to hold inquests over ... twenties and to speculate on what the thirties will be like. M... of the prophets are agreed that the twenties represented a per... of revolt and that the thirties will see the pendulum swing b... to conservatism.

If this is true, *Humanism and America,* a symposium edi... by Norman Foerster, is a signpost pointing down the road to ... action. About fifteen years ago, so we had assumed, ... Humanists were banished from the scene by a vigorous yo... movement of revolt led by Van Wyck Brooks, H. L. Menck... Randolph Bourne, and others. Revolt has run its course and ... Humanists are once more with us. Again we have the shelte... academic creed with its over-emphasis on a war between ... spiritual and the animal in the individual. Again the g... o... prophets tell us that modern life has gone to the dogs because ... has taken to itself the teachings of Rousseau, John Dewey a... the third Earl of Shaftesbury, which proclaim the essential go... ness of man's nature.

It is not when the Humanists discuss basic principles that t... have anything to contribute to our present moral dilemma, ... rather when they assume the offensive and point out the sho... comings of the current naturalistic-expressionistic school of thi... ing. There was need for a vigorous protest against modern p... chology—both behavioristic and psychoanalytic—which deprives ... of human will and human dignity. There was need for ... analysis of Theodore Dreiser that would expose his intellect... provincialism, his adherence to exploded nineteenth centu... mechanistic philosophy, as Mr. Robert Shafer has done. But ... is possible to applaud these necessary operations and still tu... one's thumbs down on Humanism as an alternative way of life.

The revival of Humanism has come at a time when many ... the younger generation are of the opinion that the cult of se... expression and revolt has outlived its usefulness. These you... people should look twice, however, before they accept the d... cipline of Humanism, which is the discipline of a modern feu... alism. We must not forget that Humanism in France is alli... with monarchism; that in England Mr. T. S. Eliot has co...

r royalism in politics, and that here in America Professors
tt and More have repeatedly declared themselves to be more
rned with the rights of property than with the right to life.
umstances may arise," Professor Babbitt has written, "when
ay esteem ourselves fortunate if we get the American equiva-
of a Mussolini."

Instead of stemming from Confucius and Socrates, Humanism
back to the Federalist movement of Revolutionary days, and
serious refutation of the movement must deal with this
logical origin. Unfortunately, *The Critique of Humanism,*
nposium edited by C. Hartley Grattan, has not gone in for
fundamental and needed criticism. It indulges mainly in
al attacks on humanistic ideals, too much of which has been
before. There is one essay, however, that does go back to
ns—not to origins of the movement but to the origin of
manism in the life of one of its prime exponents, Professor
Elmer More. This essay, by Bernard Bandler III, at-
ts to find out how the professor got that way. It reveals
foremost Humanist as one who has lived in a realm of vague
mystic visions in order to escape from the rough reality of
in our modern world. Herein, I repeat, lies a fruitful ap-
ach to an effective critique of Humanism.

NORMAN STUDER

Militant Tactics for Peace

e Turn Toward Peace. By Florence Brewer Boeckel. Friend-
ship Press. $1.00.

A VOLME which has three all too rare virtues: It is brief, it is comprehensive as a working manual, and it delimits field so as to prevent scattering of effort. Growing as it does t of the furnace of experience—the author is one of the seasoned retaries of the National Council for the Prevention of War—*e Turn Toward Peace* breathes not the "take it or leave it" the mere fact-finder, but the urge of the crusader. Instead of Can we have peace?", it says, "Why we must have peace." Real-ng the obstacles to peace—imperialism, tariffs, armaments, na-nalism—it evaluates the organizations making for peaceable ttl hents. It lists the agencies through which public opinion is ing educated toward peace and gives pertinent suggestions for e individual crusader.

The chief weakness of the book is that it is unduly American ntered. True, we need educating badly; but peace involves berating the forces that make for understanding quickly and with izor around the world as well. Hitlerism, Fascism, Communism, hile not American problems as such, are certainly forceful ene-ies in the world peace crusade. The American peace movement annot ignore the fact that it must be international to be effective.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT

"We Gotta Make a Union"

Strike! By Mary Heaton Vorse. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

BY the device of telescoping Elizabethton, Marion, and Gas-tonia, and by veiling only thinly persons, places and situa-tions, Mrs. Vorse has given us an authentic picture in novel form of the Southern textile strikes. Whether the book is propa-ganda or literature let those debate who have time for hair-splitting. We may admit that the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Or we may choose to accept the thesis of Upton Sinclair's *Mammonart* that great art is produced only by those who are out to get rid of injustice. Or like Michael Gold we may recognize a newly emerging proletarian literature in this country. At any rate, here is a record of folk with whom we go on living long after we have laid aside the book.

The story is full of drama: the mill dominating the scene; the community divided along class lines—the smug, "comfortable folk," the mountain people, and the mill hands; the attack on the tent colony followed by the shooting, the arrests, the mistrial, the weeks in jail; the floggings and kidnappings; the trial proper; the verdict—"The kind, unfailingly courteous, patient judge, the just judge, handed down the shattering sentence of twenty years."

Here are the strike leaders from the North who seem to the onlooker "incredibly isolated and remote," but who have come to feel themselves "indivisible from the strikers." Here are the rangy mountain lads "conscious of their dignity," the young state troopers "at once insolent and apologetic," the mill girls "fraternizing" with them and propagandizing them. Here are the evicted women out in the rain with their furniture; the old women marching on the picket line, "their limp calico skirts flying at their heels"; the children parading with strike bands on their arms or playing a new game, "picket lines and cops." Here is that whole floating mill population—people who "for the first time began to realize each other."

The hostility to the strike leaders comes to a climax in Mob, "inhuman and mindless." In the aftermath the mill folk are saying, "They have shot the singin' woman to death"—the writer of the "song ballits" which have been sung at strike meetings, at barbecues, and on the picket lines. And of old Jolas, "They beat him after he was shot and handcuffed." "He was handcuffed when they took 'm on the operatin' table. . . . Yes, he died handcuffed." And after the funeral, held in front of the "speakin' stand", they are saying, "We jes' gotta go on. . . . We gotta make a Union."

WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL

The Beloved Community

The Beloved Community. By Zephine Humphrey. E. P. Dutton. $2.50.

HERE are two dozen papers by Zephine Humphrey disclosing several aspects of her outer and inner life which are also a part of the general life of a particularly well integrated village in the Green Mountains. Many of us dwellers in the Battenkill valley are aware, from time to time, of the exhilarating aroma of brotherhood that comes from Dorset. But reading *The Beloved Community* has made one thing about that village newly clear even to those always purblind people, the neighbors. This book shows how much intense though enjoyable effort has been consciously put forth in Dorset to make a fine art and a religion out of citizenship.

Some of the papers are delicately and wisely humorous—"Bicycles and Sundries," and "R. F. D." for example. Mingled with these are others of deeper tone which at times flash upon the reader lines of truly beautiful prose. A few of these chapters appeared first in the *Atlantic, Scribner's,* and the *Saturday Review of Literature.* It was in the latter that "On Writing a Town History" and "On Rereading the Bible" were published. Both are entirely captivating. The group of intimate portraits comprising "Nothing" and "Rug" are, on the other hand, somewhat precariously poised on the top of an emotional wave. In their pages, the author has been betrayed into a too fond caressing of her subjects and situations. Yet such a paper as "Sudden Casements," in spite of a touch of this weakness, is truly memorable.

SARAH N. CLEGHORN

WE RECOMMEND

Simon Bolivar, by Hildegarde Angell. Norton. 296 pages. $3.00. A serious study of the South American liberator. Historiography in and on Latin America is decidedly looking up.

World Folks, by J. Russell Smith. Philadelphia: J. C. Winston Co. 332 pages. $1.75. Part of a series in the new social and international manner. Not only for schools but fascinating to home-grown girls and boys of nine or thereabouts.

An Autobiography of America, edited by Mark Van Doren. Albert and Charles Boni. 737 pages. $5.00. Sixty-four selections illustrating the life of America from the period of colonization to the present. Both the idea and the execution are excellent.

Gallery of Women, by Theodore Dreiser. Horace Liveright. 2 vols., $5.00. With vivid word technique the author traces the predominant drive of each of these women drawn from every walk of life. Despite the differences of heredity and environment, the drives are amazingly similar. For those who are fond of studying life motives, we recommend *Gallery of Women.*

Forgive Us Our Happiness, by Walton Hall-Smith. Horace Liveright. 272 pages. $2.50. Like so many of the light novels of today, this book offers a heavy sense of tragedy, lucidly running parallel to an uncanny understanding of the characters who race madly in a vain search for happiness and find only its substitutes. One of them, more honest than the rest, sees the hypocritical artificialities and dares to achieve the real.

Siberian Garrison, by Rodin Markovits. Horace Liveright. 407 pages $2.50. A translation from the Hungarian of a book that has been widely acclaimed in Europe and rightly so. It is a war story, but has little in common with the stories of Dos Passos, Latzko, or Remarque. It tells of a Hungarian soldier who is made a prisoner by the Russians and sent to Siberia. Life in the prison camp is the heart of the story.

How America Lives, by Harry W. Laidler. League for Industrial Democracy. Pamphlet, fifteen cents. This is by far the best available brief study of actual living conditions. "What reason is there in America for agitation for improved conditions? Do not carpenters and plumbers and masons receive ten and twelve dollars a day? Are not the American working people the best paid workers in the world? Then why talk and agitate about the need for social change?" Here are the facts, reliable and in handy, inexpensive form.

The Golden Sparrow, by Irene Mason Harper. Friendship Press. 150 pages. $1.00. A fine course of missionary education for juniors, interestingly written, sympathetically motivated, free from patronizing and withal one of the best introductions to the best of Christian thought toward India. Says the preface, "When Mahmud Ghaznawi, the first invader of India from the north, began to plunder the land, exultant over his find he is said to have called it a 'golden sparrow.' In this day we may also be explorers, but we do not wish to be invaders who come to plunder. Instead we may find in India, if we search, a golden treasure in the friendship of its boys and girls."

The Book of Arthur Gleason, by Helen Hayes Gleason. William Morrow Co. 235 pages. $2.50. This little volume is a lovi tribute to Arthur Gleason by his wife. It contains in the fi part short sketches by Arthur Gleason and in the second a bic raphy and appreciation of his life work. It is a worthy memori

An Economic History of Europe: 1760-1930, by Arthur Birn Lincoln MacVeagh, 289 pages. $4.00. The rise and expansi of industrialism is briefly sketched. Successive chapters outli the various measures adopted by the workers in their effort secure an adequate share of the proceeds of industry.

No Bed of Roses, by O. W. Published by Macaulay. 329 pag $2.00. This is "the diary of a lost soul," at least it purports be a genuine diary of a girl who meant well but who drift into prostitution and kept sinking lower and lower. The pa sages which portray her agony when unable to secure a regul supply of dope are terribly realistic.

Is It Safe to Work? a Study of Industrial Accidents, by Edis L. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin. 229 pages. $2.50. One of t disgraceful aspects of American industry is our too-freque callousness to the fate of workers who suffer injuries. This e cellent study not only takes up the extent and causes of ac dents, their prevention, etc., but discusses the weaknesses a needs of present compensation laws.

The Politics of Peace, by Charles E. Martin. Stanford Unive sity Press. 449 pages. $4.00. This rather conservative surv of the world factors involved in the peace issue contribut little of originality in substance or treatment but is intend instead as a rounded presentation. As an introductory volu for use among those just waking to an interest in peace, it w serve a good end and lead to an appreciation at least that t attainment of a warless world is no simple, single-track propos

The War of Independence, American Phase, by Claude H. V Tyne. Houghton Mifflin Co. 518 pages. $5.00. If anybo has done better writing on the American Revolution than Pr fessor Van Tyne, we have yet to hear of it. This new bo will add still more to his merited prestige. The Rt. Ho William Hale Thompson of Chicago would have seente catfits at such a fair piece of work, but at that the author no idol-smasher—merely an honest seeker after truth. Am by the way, one who can write. This work is nothing less th brilliant.

Pens for Ploughshares, compiled by Elizabeth Nitchie, Ja Goodloe, Marion Hawes, and Grace McCann. F. W. Faxo 106 pages. $1.50. This "bibliography of creative literatu that encourages world peace" covers fiction, poetry, essay drama, etc., and ranges through Great Britain, the United State France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norwa Sweden, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. "W have chosen only those books," the compilers say, "which pr tend to the name of literature." While it is an open questi whether the drive for peace presented by a high percentage this material is feeble or non-existent, this collection of title succinctly summarized, is very valuable indeed. As the edito state, the cumulative effect of noting that over 800 titles a available (without going far back into history for ancient stuff is bound to be great.

The World's Economic Dilemma, by Ernest Minor Patterson. Whittlesey House. 323 pages. $3.50. A popular discussion for laymen or undergraduates. The point of view is liberal and the style is interesting. The conflict between nationalism and sound economics receives emphasis. The concluding chapter, "Solving the Dilemma," is moderate to the point of inadequacy.

The Soviets in World Affairs, by Louis Fischer. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 2 volumes. 892 pages. $10.00. A detailed history of the relations between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world from the revolution down to date. An invaluable source book. An illuminating discussion of the negotiations between the Soviet and other European powers is followed by an outline of Russian activities in the Middle East and the Far East. Some fifty pages are devoted to "Moscow and the Chinese Revolution."

Colossal Blunders of the War, by Wm. Seaver Woods. Published by Macmillan. 274 pages. $2.50. The apparent purpose of this volume is to advocate military preparedness as a means of preventing similar blunders in the future. The writer, however, proves more than he had intended. He speaks of Germany as "the best prepared military nation on earth . . . prepared down to the last button," and then seemingly unconscious that he is devastating his own argument he says: "Germany lost it (the war) by a series of the most 'kolossal' mistakes ever known in the history of warfare." America was so poorly prepared that "many of the soldiers had never pulled a trigger in practice!" Yet "the huge and tragical mistakes of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France and Italy make ours seem like flea-bites in contrast. . . ." Just what does all this prove, anyhow?

CORRESPONDENCE

The Army Builds Men

IT was interesting to note on Armistice Day the actions of the R.O.T.C. here at Cornell. They were all dressed up in their pretty uniforms and went through the motions of paying homage to their brothers. In truth they were wishing for another war. "The Army Builds Men." Anyone who has ever lived on a campus with the type of men that are put in charge of R.O.T.C. groups knows what style of men the army does build and learns to avoid them.

Ithaca, N. Y. ROWLAND BACON

Donald Grant at Oberammergau

DONALD GRANT hates war and likes folks. He hates war because he likes folks. He hates war so much that with some 4,600 other Englishmen he went to jail rather than fight; and now, out of those 4,600 who went to jail with him for conscience sake, England has sent 25 to Parliament.

I met Grant at the Fellowship Camp in the suburbs of Oberammergau. The camp was his own idea—a place where those who were unable to pay even the modest prices charged in the village for room and board could have a place to stay at absurdly low cost, and where folks from all over the world might meet, become acquainted, and so better understand each other. Over 1,100 of us were Donald Grant's guests by the time his camp closed, October 1.

He had just returned from Poland the day we came. He had been consulting with some fifty leaders of young people as to how they might have peace in Poland. There many Germans hate the Poles, and the latter pay them back in their own coin with interest. Both have perfectly good reasons for their attitude just as do clashing nationalities in so many European countries. Did you ever see a school teacher grab two fighting boys by the hair and bump their heads together until both teacher and pupils were exhausted? That is the old way of war which has made so much of the world a charnel house. As Grant told us how he helped these quarreling people to see each other's viewpoint, and how, after ten days of talking and singing and hiking and playing, these young Poles and Germans parted good friends, determined to spread the idea of reconciliation, I felt his enthusiasm for his task. I saw him, as teacher, putting his brawny arms about the fighting boys, and taking the blows himself, until worn out by the futile struggle the combatants began to see how foolish they were, and finally parted good friends. That's the way to end war — class war, race war, economic war, civil war, international war — plain, old-fashioned war of any kind.

Donald Grant and his helper, Caspar Myer, and others whose names I do not know, travel about Europe living and teaching this doctrine of reconciliation. Between them they have a fund of only $1,000 for a year's travel; but they manage on that because they go third class, and save hotel bills by traveling as much as possible at night. They need money badly, even though it burns a hole in their pockets when they meet any one in need. It is nothing unusual for Grant to leave home with an overcoat and return minus it, having met someone who needed it worse than he. Conscientious objection to war is only a small part of his philosophy. But it would do Europe and the rest of the world unmeasured good for Donald Grant to have money.

On the stage at Oberammergau you see enacted with consummate simplicity the life of one who loved and served to the end. At Fellowship Camp you find one of his disciples who loves and serves and lives.

Portland, Oregon J. J. HANDSAKER, *Associate Secretary National Council for Prevention of War*

What Is Happening in Austria?

SINCE 1921 the forces in Austria which oppose Socialism have grown steadily stronger. As a counter to the Schutzbund—the armed forces of the Social Democrats—the Heimwehr emerged and were armed in opposition. These two "vanguard organizations" are the outward manifestations of the bitter conflict which has rent Austria for a decade. Fundamentally two opposing systems are in conflict: the socialist and the capitalist, sometimes labelled "revolution and counter-revolution."

The conflict came to a head in the recent elections of November 9th. In the struggle the odds were against the Social Democrats, and any objective description of the contest is likely to evoke condemnation of the bourgeois parties and sympathy for the Social Democrats. In fairness, therefore, I must add that the latter have also committed mistakes constitutional and social; they have been truculent against minorities, and they have pursued too keenly their class struggle.

At the end of September last, the fall of Prime Minister Schober was engineered and power seized by a minority government. Parliament was dissolved so as not to interfere with the minority government, behind which the guiding mind was that of Monsignor Seipel. Two Heimwehr leaders, Prince Starhemberg

and Dr. Hueber, received ministerial posts in the government. Both of these Fascist leaders repeatedly declared themselves ready to disregard the Constitution and even the results of the elections. The preparation for and the carrying out of the elections were the principal task of the minority government.

The real issue of the election was between the Social Democrats on the one hand, whose platform included the defence of democracy and the Socialist administration of Vienna, and on the other hand the Heimwehr movement backed by the Christian Social Party. Schober, not a professional politician, capitalized his bad treatment at the hands of the Christian Social group by forming a party with the slogan "Peace and Order."

An exciting time ensued. Newspapers of the opposition were confiscated by the government; a Heimwehr man was installed as director general of the State Railways; the standing parliamentary committee for the army was dissolved; the police were provided with higher officials who could be reckoned on by the government; the haunts of the Socialists were searched for arms while those of the Heimwehr were unmolested. The usual war of posters and speeches was carried on.

As one correspondent put it: "The conditions were unequal. Never before had the prospects of reaction seemed so rosy. They were colored still more by the results of the German elections. Mussolini at the right moment threw his encouragement into the scale. Poverty and economic difficulties had reached their most acute form. Electoral reform had been evaded, while the election procedure favored the Christian Social Party. For years the catchword 'Anti-Marxism' had clouded the issue. The government leaders occupied several industrial towns with troops." The purpose of all this was to discredit and weaken the Social Democrats, and to achieve a majority in Parliament for the Christian Social Party and the Heimwehr.

After six weeks of the most bitter conflict, marked by excesses of the kind mentioned, election day came with the following results: Of the 165 members elected, the Christian Social and Heimwehr parties with difficulty won 74 seats; the Socialists alone got 72 (the largest single party), and the Schober Party 19.

What the election meant is substantially this: a set-back for the movement of national Fascism which is surging up in many parts of Europe; a notable rebuff for Monsignor Seipel, whose able mind is behind the Christian Social Party; a defeat for the violent demagogic Fascist leader, Prince Starhemberg; a definite personal victory for ex-Chancellor Schober, whose strength is in his own integrity and in his "Peace and Order"; an encouragement to the Social Democrats, whose numbers in Parliament increase from 71 to 72, although their total number of votes was less than in 1927.

Vienna, Austria DONALD GRANT

Consequences

By JULIA ELLSWORTH FORD

Introduction by John Haynes Holmes

***A. E. Grantham,* author of *The Wisdom of Akhnaton,* says, "Consequences" is packed with thought. The problems raised are most interesting, and so excellently solved that there can be but one opinion on this novel—a wonderful achievement.**

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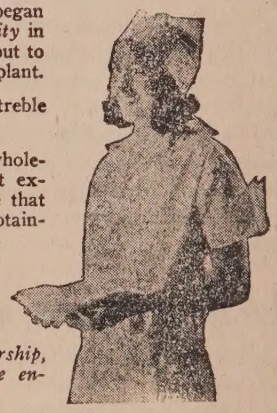

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The Last Page

MY hat lies before me as I write, a living witness to the triumph of matter over its environment. For today I have been in that tradition-hallowed cloakroom just outside the House of Lords, and have manifested the schoolboyish audacity to hang my hat for a moment on the peg exclusively reserved (in theory) for the Prince of Wales. With infinite tenderness I replaced it on the humbler spot it had adorned before its elevation into royalty, and all afternoon I went about in a tenseness of expectation. Would not the felt begin to swell and puff itself with pride? But no; there it is, exactly the same as ever, unless indeed there be a mood which I, who have never learned the language of hats, am unable in my stupidity to sense. More than ever am I convinced that royalty, as I have sneakingly thought all the time, is a matter of complete irrelevancy to the ordinary universe. Normala, however, who has a way of puncturing my reveries with the poison barb of stern reality, interrupts to remind me that the hat itself, though brought here from the States, is British made.

* * *

THERE was with me one who is most often with me, and when she sat in the King's chair and looked down at me no more loftily than I, alas, deserved, I fancied that from afar I almost heard the coachmen approaching and I actually looked to see if she wore a slipper of glass. Nothing really happened; but this is a business of which I am timid, and I was glad to tip the kindly man who had brought Normala back to the floor of the Robing Room in the same state of mind, apparently, as she had been when she stepped from the drama of real life for a moment into farce.

As for me, I forewent the chance; in the new social order, when it arrives, there is a bare possibility that I may still be hobbling about and offering free advice in my senile wisdom; and I am going to run no risks of having some young whippersnapper pin on me the disgraceful fact that once I sat where kings had stopped to don the royal garments. No, instead, I sought out, later, a place upon the Labor Party's high back benches, the seat where spokesmen sit who are about to assail compromise and old stupidities in no uncertain language. Whether I, like my hat, remain immune, we yet shall see. But I hope not, and the presence of that hope may indicate that I, *un*like the hat, am more susceptible.

* * *

AND, after this, who can say that I am not a cosmopolitan? I have to report that I am also the first male ever to be invited into the ladies' drawing room of the Royal Empire Society. Write it down as treason if you will; but no more delightful, sincere and kindly friends has Eccentricus made than a family whose chief work is with the Admiralty. All of which is a part of Britain's superb tolerance, the finest thing about the British people.

Even tolerance, however, can sometimes be stretched. It is being told how Randolph Churchill, the young man who tried to make an ass of himself in the United States (or is it the other way around?) was speaking, in one of the cinema theaters, not in person but in a talking film. He was earnestly lambasting the signing of the London naval treaty and declaring that Britain ought to go on independently and build up the greatest sea force in the world. In the audience, as it happened, was Mr. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty. At last it got too thick, and the First Lord burst out. "Goodness, my lad," said he, "what tripe!"

* * *

I REALLY owe this tale to the *Daily Herald,* and I wish to give full credit. Especially since, in a recent issue, it printed a summary of the war guilt opinions in THE WORLD TOMORROW for October, which they credited, with charming definiteness, to "an American magazine."

Alas, 'twas ever thus. Eccentricus well recalls how this journal began the practice of using certain type for subheadings, whereupon three others speedily followed suit. He remembers the first use of black-and-white drawing on the covers, far back in 1923, whereafter several others proceeded to do the same thing, as some of them still are, in all but the identical manner. He has not forgotten how our paper started the topical issue plan, with every number containing matter bearing on a central theme, only to see one after another of the other periodicals adopt the same idea. He has noticed how a certain publisher of not very large blue books at one time "lifted" an entire issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW and sold many copies in another form, without so much as saying, "May I?"

Now Eccentricus has frequently pirated on the brilliance of his friends, else often there would be no type on this page; so who is he to kick? But he has always sought to be genteel about it, in the manner of the burglar who broke into a house one morning, sandbagged a valet who was drawing his master's bath, helped himself to the silver, and then, as an act of final courtesy, turned off the tap, knocked on the door of the sleeping victim, and said kindly, "Your bath is ready, Sir."

And so, for another yarn, too, give credit to the *Daily Herald.* It seems that even the Russians are not without ability to see, at times, something of the humor in their struggles. Kalinin had been talking before a meeting of peasants in the usual method of propaganda on behalf of the Five Year Plan. An elderly peasant complained. "It's all right to talk and talk about building up Communism," said he, "but look at my suit. I've had it ever since the Czar's time." "I know," said Kalinin, "but think of the proletariat in the East. Many of them have no clothes at all." "O Father," replied the peasant, in his old man's understanding, "they must have been building up Communism there for centuries."

* * *

BUT propaganda is not all on one side. An advertisement appears on the front page of the London *Times,* which reads: "You wish to speak in public? Then join classes of the Anti-Socialist Union."

* * *

SWEET are the ways of diplomacy! Next time you hear about the man who said, "There ain't no such animal," remember Count Carlo Sforza. In his book, *Makers of Modern Europe,* he has a section on "Dictators." Here he writes about Lenin, Stalin, Trotzky, Mustafa Kemal, Pilsudski, Yuan Shi-Kai, and Sun Yat-Sen, but Mussolini is located, in the section entitled, "A Crisis of Democracy; How Fascism Came." After reading about the crowd he has been running around with all these years, I have no wonder that the good Count confesses as his creed: "To love one another is too difficult; that is why pacifist propaganda is so sterile." It is so sterile and powerless, I note, that *Il Duce* dare not permit it to raise its head in Italy, and drives it into exile or to jail.

* * *

ADOLPH HITLER will grant interviews to the press of any country in the world. The price will be one dollar a word, and the interview must contain at least a thousand words. Anybody want a dollar's worth of Eccentricus's time at the same rate? I haven't threatened to make any heads roll in the sand, but after many of my speeches I have had 'em lolling on shoulders or swaying wearily from side to side. And after all, haven't I a right to fame as the man who had a chance to sit in a King's chair and passed it up?

* * *

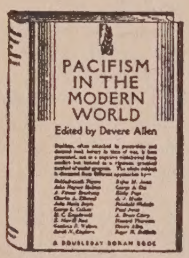
"PUNCH," says *Punch,* "is read with delight by the best people." This tells me right where *I* get off. I don't seem to rise to the standard of the best people; here less than in most places. "Basically," snarls *The Bystander,* a snooty weekly, "the lower classes of the French have not advanced one iota since the French Revolution." Poor fellers! I know just how they feel. Me neither.

ECCENTRICUS

PACIFISM

in the

MODERN (Critical) WORLD



Pacifism, often attacked in peace time and deemed rank heresy in time of war, is presented not as a negative withdrawal from conflict but instead a vigorous, practical method of social progress. It is impossible to dismiss as a vague and fruitless idealism the way of life which figured so conspicuously in the teachings of Jesus, Buddha, Lao-Tse, and other great prophets of the ancient world; which inspired the early Christians and many later non-violent groups such as the Bohemian Brethren and the Quakers; and which in more recent times has found expression through Tolstoy, Rolland, Gandhi, certain religious, peace, and labor movements, and increasing thousands of war resisters in many lands.

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NEW VIEWPOINTS OF PACIFISTS

In repudiating the machinery and methods of war and exploitation the pacifist is merely clearing the way for the far larger task of laying, stone by stone, the foundations of a friendly, coordinating society in which men will be united by common projects instead of being separated by competing fears.—*Paul Jones.*

The strategy of love involves some risks. These risks however are not as great as they are sometimes made to appear, for the simple reason that love not only discovers, but creates, moral purpose.—*Reinhold Niebuhr.*

Violence does not deserve the standing it at present enjoys in the struggle against injustice, even though it may be immortalized in song and story. . . . The method of pacifism is the method of power.—*George L. Collins.*

Pacifism has been proved. Wherever applied, it has stood trial. Like the discovered cure of a disease, it needs only to be extended from individual test cases in the laboratory to all cases in the world at large, to bring universal healing unto men.—*John Haynes Holmes.*

Material force has its power in the physical blows it can inflict and therefore emulation goes on endlessly augmenting the means of dealing such blows. It can only come to a natural stop when man asserts the dignity of his spirit and says: "I am not afraid."
—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

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